




1-1-2016

The Royal Lykaian Altar Shall Bear Witness: History and Religion in Southwestern Arcadia

Kyle William Mahoney

University of Pennsylvania, makyle@sas.upenn.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations>

 Part of the [Ancient History, Greek and Roman through Late Antiquity Commons](#), [History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons](#), and the [Indo-European Linguistics and Philology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Mahoney, Kyle William, "The Royal Lykaian Altar Shall Bear Witness: History and Religion in Southwestern Arcadia" (2016). *Publicly Accessible Penn Dissertations*. 1874.
<http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/1874>

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. <http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/1874>
For more information, please contact libraryrepository@pobox.upenn.edu.

The Royal Lykaian Altar Shall Bear Witness: History and Religion in Southwestern Arcadia

Abstract

THE ROYAL LYKAIAN ALTAR SHALL BEAR WITNESS:

HISTORY AND RELIGION IN SOUTHWESTERN ARCADIA

Kyle W. Mahoney

Jeremy McInerney

This dissertation surveys the history of the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion and its environment, from the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600-1100 B.C.) to the Roman imperial period (ca. A.D. 200). I begin with a review of the myth traditions attached to the landscape, suggesting that these were familiar to Greek speakers all over the Mediterranean from early times. We can see their influence in our earliest poets, Homer and Hesiod, who indirectly acknowledge the birth of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion and other local myths. The remainder of Chapter 1 discusses Mt. Lykaion through a comparative mythological and linguistic lens. In Chapter 2, I argue that during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages Mt. Lykaion was closely connected to the mountainous area defined by the Alpheios, Neda, and Pamisos rivers. This fact is evidenced by shared cults and toponymy, conventions which are documented as early as the Pylian Linear B documents (ca. 1200 B.C.). From here I survey Mt. Lykaion in the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods. I argue that Sparta's incursions into northern Messenia, Arcadia, and Kynouria during the Archaic period pushed Mt. Lykaion into the orbit of the eastern Arcadian cities. The myths and heroic genealogies of the two regions were eventually fused, and by the mid-fourth century B.C. the traditions of Lykaion came to predominate. Chapter 3 concludes with a discussion of the relationship between the Arcadian League and the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios. Chapter 4 is a history of the Lykaian Games from ca. 600-200 B.C. All literary and epigraphical sources documenting the festival are reviewed, and I maintain that it was held every four years in April or early May of the fourth Olympiad year. Chapter 5 investigates the relationship between Mt. Lykaion and Rome. I argue that around A.D. 1/2 the Lykaia were supplemented by games in honor of the Roman emperor (the Kaisareia) based upon the mythical pedigree of the Roman festival of the Lupercalia, which was said to have been a reproduction of the Lykaia.

Degree Type

Dissertation

Degree Name

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Graduate Group

Ancient History

First Advisor

Jeremy McInerney

Keywords

Arcadia, Archaeology, Greek History, Greek Religion, Lykaion

Subject Categories

Ancient History, Greek and Roman through Late Antiquity | History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology | Indo-European Linguistics and Philology

THE ROYAL LYKAIAN ALTAR SHALL BEAR WITNESS:
HISTORY AND RELIGION IN SOUTHWESTERN ARCADIA

Kyle W. Mahoney

A DISSERTATION

in

Ancient History

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2016

Supervisor of Dissertation

Jeremy McInerney

Davidson Kennedy Professor

Graduate Group Chairperson

Campbell Grey, Associate Professor of Classical Studies

Dissertation Committee

Julia Wilker, Assistant Professor of Classical Studies

David Gilman Romano, Karabots Professor of Greek Archaeology, University of Arizona

THE ROYAL LYKAIAN ALTAR SHALL BEAR WITNESS:
HISTORY AND RELIGION IN SOUTHWESTERN ARCADIA

© 2016

Kyle William Mahoney

For my Mother and Father

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It would be impossible to acknowledge all the people who helped me bring this work to completion. But I will give it the old college try, one final time. To begin with, I warmly thank my dissertation committee, David Gilman Romano, Julia Wilker, and the chair, Jeremy McInerney. Without David I never would have conceived of this project in the first place; he introduced me to the history and landscape of Mt. Lykaion, and he believed in me enough to keep bringing me back summer after summer to work both on the mountain and at the lab in Tripolis, where we first discussed the idea of an epigraphical study on Mt. Lykaion. His deep knowledge of Greek archaeology and all things Arcadia have been invaluable, and I am especially grateful for the speed with which he diligently read draft after draft.

Julia's extraordinary knowledge of Classical and Hellenistic history is behind many of the insights in Chapter 3. Her kindness and willingness to meet with me at the drop of a hat helped me get through many conferences and last minute revisions. I am especially grateful for the way she has pushed me to reconsider Arcadian history in the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C. – a project that I shall continue to develop in the future. I also owe the background of much of Chapter 5 to discussions with Julia, which encouraged me to explore the imperial cult festivals of the province of Achaëa.

Jeremy's support and encouragement have been tremendous. I have admired his breadth as a scholar since first meeting him in 2008, when he was kind enough to take the time to chat with me before I applied to Ph.D. programs. He is in large part responsible for my development as an ancient historian and epigraphist. Time and again he has

written on my behalf and helped me to succeed both in Greece and the States. His unique insight on all things Greek – historical, topographical, linguistic, and archaeological – has been truly inspirational. I am especially grateful for his help on Chapters 1 and 2, which have been exponentially improved thanks to multiple revisions based on conversations with Jeremy. Of course, all three of my committee members have contributed to every angle of this project – from Chapter 1 to the appendices.

I owe many debts of gratitude to the faculty of the Department of Classical Studies and the members of the Graduate Group in Ancient History. I single out here Cynthia Damon, who has been a role model and unequalled supporter since my days as a post-baccalaureate student in 2008-2009; Cam Grey, who has taught me all I know about theory and pushed me to explore topics I otherwise would not have; James Ker, who was of great help to me when I wrote Chapter 5; Joe Farrell, who was kind enough to share his deep knowledge of Arcadia in Latin poetry with me; and Tom Tartaron, who has taught me much about the Late Bronze Age and Greek archaeology. I would like to extend special thanks to Don Ringe for his invaluable help on linguistic matters.

I thank my friends and colleagues at Penn over these past eight years, without whom I never would have gotten through the program. I single out here my cohort mate, Jake Morton, who has been kind enough to read my work, and my fellow students in ancient history: Morgan Condell, Jacob Feeley, Kevin Funderburk, Ruben Post, and Benjamin L. Truesdale. Special thanks go to Janelle Sadarananda, John Valainis, Heather Elomaa, Kate Wilson, Marcie Boyd, and my dear friends Sam Beckelhymer and Sarah Beckmann.

My epigraphical work would have been impossible without the help of the Greek Archaeological Service and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. My time at the school was the highlight of my long career as a student, and I acknowledge the friends I made there, discussion with whom has contributed greatly to my development as a scholar. In particular, I thank the noble shepherd Simon Oswald, my travel companion Dylan Rogers, my fellow cavers Nick Swift, Jess Lamont, and Michael Leese, Leigh Lieberman, Thomas and Adrienne Rose, and Angele Rosenberg-Dimitracopoulou. I give special thanks to Margie Miles and Joe Day, the Mellon Professor and Whitehead Professor during my Regular Year, and Jack Davis and James Wright, the directors in 2011-2012 and 2014-2015, respectively. I warmly thank Eleni Balomenou and Ioanna Damanaki, without whom I would not have studied a single stone, and Molly Richardson for her advice on the study of Greek inscriptions.

I thank the directors and my fellow staff members at the Mt. Lykaion Excavation and Survey Project, especially Mary E. Voyatzis for her encouragement and kindness. Mary's unrivalled knowledge of Arcadian archaeology was invaluable to me as I wrote the archaeological portions of this dissertation. I thank Irene Bald Romano, who gave me my first photocopy of *IG V*, 2's section on Mt. Lykaion and encouraged me to check the reading of *IG V*, 2.550. I warmly thank my friends and colleagues at both the excavation and the Parrhasian Park. Special thanks go to Matt Pihokker, who has kindly read and commented upon much of my work, Pat Playdon, Mark Davison, Nota Pantzou, Lauren Dreyfuss, Alex Ford, Natalie Gleason, Jake Nabel, Ioanna Pachi, Fani Kazantzi, Eleni Tzounopoulou, and Vasilis Barkoulas.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to the many Greek scholars who gave me permission to study archaeological materials. I thank especially Anna Karapanagiotou and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Arcadia (in particular, Efi Triantafyllou), the directors and staff at the Epigraphical and National Archaeological Museums at Athens, Professor Petros Themelis and the staff at Ancient Messene, Mr. Kyriakos Karagiannis of Ano Karyes, the staff at the Stoa of Attalos Research Center, the staffs at the Argos Museum and Ancient Epidauros, the staff at the Archaeological site and Museum of Delos, and the staff at the Archaeological site and Museum of Delphi. I thank all the members of the Ephorates of Antiquities of Athens, Phocis, Messenia, Laconia, Argolida, the Cyclades, and the Dodecanese.

I thank Mr. Pavlos Stavroulakis and Mrs. Georgia Anastasopoulou for their unparalleled kindness and generosity in letting me stay in their homes in Athens, Nafplio, and Paradeisia. Pavlos was of great help when I studied in the Argolid, and Georgia is largely responsible for the improvement of my modern Greek. I thank the entire Anastasopoulos clan of Paradeisia for their welcoming spirit, as well as Mr. Nikos Prevedoros. I thank Vyronas and Christos of the Sui Generis. Two friends from Greece – one American and one Canadian – deserve special acknowledgment, Alex Clapp and Tina Ross.

Of all the people I have met in Greece, I owe the largest debt of gratitude to Eleanna Prevedorou, without whom I never, ever could have completed this dissertation. Her kindness, compassion, and support are always there, even when they are undeserved.

I owe her my introduction to modern Greece and all its charms, including herself. She is the best of travel companions, who has driven me all over the mountains of Arcadia.

I thank John Bowling, who first introduced me to ancient Greece when I was 17 in his class on Greek culture, and the late Professor C.J. Zabrowski, who first taught me Greek. Thanks are also due to Anita DiBartolomeo.

Finally, I wish to thank the members of my family, who have loved and supported me my entire life, through good times and bad. My mother is, as my brother has always maintained, the rock of our family. Without her constant support, care, and prayers we would all be lost. My father first introduced me to the study of history in 1993, when he took me to see the movie Gettysburg. I thank them both for all the love and help that they have given me in life. I thank Patrick, my older brother, and Dennis, my younger brother, without whom I would not be the person that I am. Their intelligence and thoughtfulness are inspirational. I should also mention my grandparents, the late Richard and Angela, and Leonard and Peggy, as well as my late Aunt Verna and Uncle James. I thank my Aunt Jean and Uncle Frank for their support and generosity, along with my uncles Rick and Mark and my cousins Ricky and Jesse.

Anyone who has taken the time to talk with me over the past eight years but whom I have accidentally left out, I thank you too.

ABSTRACT

THE ROYAL LYKAIAN ALTAR SHALL BEAR WITNESS: HISTORY AND RELIGION IN SOUTHWESTERN ARCADIA

Kyle W. Mahoney

Jeremy McNerney

This dissertation surveys the history of the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion and its environment, from the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600-1100 B.C.) to the Roman imperial period (ca. A.D. 200). I begin with a review of the myth traditions attached to the landscape, suggesting that these were familiar to Greek speakers all over the Mediterranean from early times. We can see their influence in our earliest poets, Homer and Hesiod, who indirectly acknowledge the birth of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion and other local myths. The remainder of Chapter 1 discusses Mt. Lykaion through a comparative mythological and linguistic lens. In Chapter 2, I argue that during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages Mt. Lykaion was closely connected to the mountainous area defined by the Alpheios, Neda, and Pamisos rivers. This fact is evidenced by shared cults and toponymy, conventions which are documented as early as the Pylian Linear B documents (ca. 1200 B.C.). From here I survey Mt. Lykaion in the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods. I argue that Sparta's incursions into northern Messenia, Arcadia, and Kynouria during the Archaic period pushed Mt. Lykaion into the orbit of the eastern Arcadian cities. The myths and heroic genealogies of the two regions were eventually fused, and by the mid-fourth century B.C. the traditions of Lykaion came to predominate. Chapter 3 concludes with a discussion of the relationship between the Arcadian League

and the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios. Chapter 4 is a history of the Lykaian Games from ca. 600-200 B.C. All literary and epigraphical sources documenting the festival are reviewed, and I maintain that it was held every four years in April or early May of the fourth Olympiad year. Chapter 5 investigates the relationship between Mt. Lykaion and Rome. I argue that around A.D. 1/2 the Lykaia were supplemented by games in honor of the Roman emperor (the Kaisareia) based upon the mythical pedigree of the Roman festival of the Lupercalia, which was said to have been a reproduction of the Lykaia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	IX
LIST OF MAPS	XIV
LIST OF FIGURES	XV
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1: MYTH AND MEANING ON MT. LYKAION	10
I: Contextualizing Continuity at Mt. Lykaion.....	13
II: Myth and Linguistics.....	17
III: Homer	35
IV: Hesiod	49
V: Epimenides.....	63
VI: Conclusions	66
CHAPTER 2: MYCENAEAN MT. LYKAION AND THE LINEAR B DOCUMENTS	69
I: Background.....	73
II: <i>LYK-</i> in the Pylian Tablets	100
III: Zeus and <i>Diwia</i> on Mt. Lykaion	114
IV: Neda as a Kourotrophic Nymph in the Late Bronze Age.....	117
V: Mt. Lykaion and Andania	121
VI: Other Links between Mt. Lykaion and the Linear B Texts	126
VII: Summary	127

CHAPTER 3: MT. LYKAION IN GREEK HISTORY, 750-200 B.C.....	129
I: From Prehistory to History, the <i>Basileis</i> of Trapezous	131
II: Sanctuary and Identity.....	137
III: <i>IG V</i> , 2.550 and the Arcadian League in the Late Fourth Century B.C.	182
IV: The Third Century B.C.....	200
V: The Fate of the Parrhasian Sanctuaries.....	203
CHAPTER 4: THE LYKAIA FESTIVAL, 600-200 B.C.	206
I: Chronological Aspects of the Lykaia	209
II: Events.....	244
III: Prizes.....	255
IV: Organizing the Lykaia	257
V: The Lykaia among Greek Agonistic Festivals.....	260
VI: The Lykaia in Greek Agonistic Culture	263
CHAPTER 5: MT. LYKAION BETWEEN ROME AND ARCADIA.....	266
I: Background and Origins.....	268
II: Arcadia in the Augustan Era	276
III. Patterning the Agonistic Festivals in the Province of Achaea.....	279
IV. Summary.....	290
CONCLUSION	294
APPENDIX I: PRELIMINARY READING AND INTERPRETATION OF ‘A NEW BRONZE TABLET’	297
APPENDIX II: THE INSCRIPTIONS OF MT. LYKAION (I-MTL)	302
APPENDIX III: <i>LYKAIONIKAI</i>, SIXTH-FIRST CENTURIES B.C.	344

APPENDIX IV: THE APKAAIKON COINAGE	348
APPENDIX V: THE ARCADIAN LEAGUE, 371-331 B.C.....	349
APPENDIX VI: THE SYNOECISM OF MEGALOPOLIS.....	352
BIBLIOGRAPHY	354

LIST OF MAPS

1. Location of Mts. Lykaion and Tetrazi in the Peloponnese, p. 1.
2. Locations of Parrhasia, Northern Messenia, and Triphylia, p. 5.
3. Mycenaean Sites in Western and Southwestern Arcadia, p. 80.
4. The Pylian State according to Chadwick, p. 90.
5. The Pylian State according to Eder, p. 93.
6. Mycenaean Sites in the Vicinity of Mt. Lykaion, p. 96.
7. Routes from Mesenia to Arcadia and Triphylia, with Late Bronze Age Sites, p. 98.
8. *LYK*- in Southwestern Arcadia, Northern Messenia, and Triphylia, p. 109.
9. *NED*- in Southwestern Arcadia, Messenia, and Triphylia, p. 120.
10. Parrhasia, Settlements and Sanctuaries, p. 146.
11. Places Mentioned in Chapter 3, p. 170.
12. Sites in Achaea with Agonistic Festivals for the Imperial Cult, p. 282.

LIST OF FIGURES

1. The Ash Altar and Temenos at Mt. Lykaion, p. 69.
2. Late Bronze Age Iconography reminiscent of the Cult of Zeus Lykaios, p. 71.
3. View of Mt. Lykaion from the Citadel of Palaiokastro, p. 77.
4. The Mycenaean Cemetery at Palaiokastro, p. 78.
- 5a. View of Mt. Tetrazi from Mt. Lykaion, p. 83.
- 5b. View of Mt. Lykaion from the Village of Kypseli, South of the Neda, p. 84.
6. View of Mt. Lykaion from Mt. Ithome, p. 94.
7. Mt. Lykaion, Lower Sanctuary, Emphasis on Hippodrome, p. 140.
8. The Sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura, p. 141.
9. Apollo Parrhasios at Cretea, View of the Temple Platform, p. 142.
10. The Sanctuary of Pan at Berekla, p. 143.
11. View of Bassae and Kotilion from Mt. Lykaion, p. 143.
12. Aerial View of Trapezous, p. 144.
- 13a. Acropolis of Lykosoura, p. 145.
- 13b. Detail of Masonry at Lykosoura Acropolis, p. 353.
14. ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ Coinage, p. 155.
15. Stater of Megalopolis, 360s B.C, p. 160.
16. Arcadian Genealogy according to I-MTL 40, p. 162.
17. I-MTL 3, p. 167.
18. I-MTL 5, p. 192.

ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ
τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν.
John 1:4-5

INTRODUCTION¹

In this dissertation, I investigate the history of Mt. Lykaion, Greece, from ca. 1500 B.C. until A.D. 200. Lykaion is a mountainous landscape in the southwestern corner of the central Peloponnese. The Greeks called this region Arcadia, and the smaller district of which Mt. Lykaion is part was known as Parrhasia. The area in question stretched



Map 1: Location of Mts. Lykaion and Tetrazi in the Peloponnese

from the banks of the Alpheios river in the east and ascended up into the Lykaion mountains before descending back down into the valley of the Neda river. Within this landscape were many religious sites and

settlements, but above all it

was known for the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios, with his Ash Altar on the southern peak of the mountain at an elevation of 1,382 m.

¹ Bibliographical abbreviations follow the guidelines of the *American Journal of Archaeology* and the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. For ancient authors, I generally follow *LSJ* and *OLD*, although in certain cases I expand for clarification (e.g., Aesch., not A.; Plut. *Quaest. Graec.*, not *Mor.*). In transliterating, any Greek or Latin word that is not commonly found in English is always italicized. In the case of proper names, I have not italicized and typically transliterate (e.g., Lykosoura, Lykomedes, Akarnania, Agios Demetrios). Exceptions are limited to words with familiar English forms (e.g., Plato, Arcadia, Bassae). All in-text transcriptions from Linear B are italicized.

Here people worshipped the god of the sky for countless generations, and the locals were thought to be descendants of Pelasgos, who was born of the earth, and his son Lykaon, who shared his table with none other than Zeus. In time, this remote mountain shrine came to be the premier religious site for all the inhabitants of the central Peloponnese – a fact all the more surprising because at first glance there seems to be nothing central about Mt. Lykaion. Yet, while Mt. Lykaion is not geographically central by any definition, its hallowed antiquity made it an *axis mundi* – to use the words of Mircea Eliade – the place where heaven met earth.² This was literally the case for the ancient Arcadians, who believed that their ancestors communed with Zeus on the mountain's peak.

Studies such as the present one, which focus upon regions not often treated in great detail, are essential to our ability to reconstruct and interpret the ancient world. For the vast majority of ancient people, life was by and large lived in the relatively small, local landscape that they inhabited. This was as true for the residents of Attica as it was for the Parrhasians. There were certainly times of migration – both large scale and at the individual level – but when times were stable most people spent their entire lives in the same community. Serious study of local history, by which I mean the examination of the regional building blocks of ancient Greek society, is therefore necessary before we can say anything more general about the Greeks as a unified culture.

Recent scholarship has made great advances in the field of Greek local history. Thanks to this work, we can now trace the historical development of regional units such

² Eliade 2005, pp. 12-13.

as (to name only the most recent examples in English) Phocis,³ Arcadia,⁴ Messenia,⁵ Thessaly, East Locris, and Achaia.⁶ For Arcadia in particular, the work of Morgan, Nielsen, Roy, and Voyatzis has greatly enhanced our understanding, and the recent archaeological work at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios under Romano and Voyatzis necessitates a reconsideration of the history of Parrhasia and Mt. Lykaion. Accordingly, here I utilize an inter-disciplinary approach to reconstruct the history and culture of Mt. Lykaion, focusing in particular upon its heritage as a sacred mountain. The result is an even deeper understanding of the area's historical development and its relationship to Arcadia and the Greek and Roman worlds as a whole.

In the first chapter, Myth and Meaning on Mt. Lykaion, I discuss the mythology and cultic names associated with the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios. This chapter is the most methodologically diverse, as I incorporate techniques from comparative mythology and Indo-European linguistics to analyze data drawn from Greek nominal morphology, epic poetry, epigraphy, and archaeology. I argue that the cult name of Zeus Lykaios is paralleled by poetic formulae from the Sanskrit *Rig-Veda* (ca. 1500-1300 B.C.) and material in the archaic Latin *Carmen Saliare*. The juxtaposition of the Indo-European god's name **Dyḗws* ('bright sky') with a derivative of the root **leuk-* ('shine') seen in the Greek name of Zeus Lykaios reproduces an exceedingly ancient Indo-European conception of the world. I relate this conclusion to the deep antiquity of the cult and the

³ McInerney 1999.

⁴ Nielsen 2002.

⁵ Luraghi 2008.

⁶ Morgan 2003, who also covers Phocis and Arcadia.

conservative nature of the ritual practiced, both of which are underscored by the recent archaeological discoveries.

From here I switch gears and analyze the different strata in the mythology of Mt. Lykaion: the stories about lycanthropy and human sacrifice, the institution of ritual by king Lykaon, and Zeus' birth and tendance by local water nymphs. After reviewing the data presented by Homer, Hesiod, and Epimenides, I conclude that many of these traditions were already known to our earliest poets in one form or another, and that they affected the way poets organized their material, all the way down to the level of word choice. This should not come as a great surprise, given the fact that we find the stories of Kallisto and Lykaon in later Archaic poets (see Chapter 3, II, b), but here I am suggesting that much more of the region's mythology was familiar at an even earlier date. It becomes apparent that none of the local mythology is late and derivative, as M.P. Nilsson, the most eminent scholar of Greek religion in the first part of the 20th century, had maintained for the Arcadian myth of Zeus' birth.⁷ I suggest that the traditions of Mt. Lykaion became popular at an early date through wide participation in the local religious rites.⁸ From here the stories were quite naturally picked up by the poets.

In Chapter 2 we go further back in time to the Mycenaean era, in order to situate the prehistoric cult on Mt. Lykaion in a firmer geographical and cultural setting. The work of Romano and Voyatzis at the Ash Altar has demonstrated that ritual activity began in the 16th century B.C. and continued without break through the Hellenistic

⁷ Nilsson 1950, pp. 535-536, n. 5.

⁸ For an overview of the relationship between myth and ritual practice, see Versnel 2014.

period. Recent scholarship has increased our knowledge of Arcadia in the Mycenaean period and allows for a review of all the known sites proximal to Mt. Lykaion. What's more, it so happens that Mt. Lykaion was located along the northern border of the Mycenaean state centered upon Pylos. We know much about the organization of this state thanks to its Linear B archive, which has revealed the names of its people and places and its administrative practices. Traditions from historical times stress that southwestern Arcadia and northern Messenia were closely related, a point underscored, for example, by the fact that both peoples revered the river Neda as a kourotrophic nymph and attached her to the cult of Zeus.

Accordingly, I utilize data from the Pylian Linear B tablets to place Mt. Lykaion in a particular southwestern Peloponnesian cultural zone that endured for well over a thousand years. The landscape defined by the Neda, Alpheios, and Pamisos rivers, on the one hand, and the Tetrazi and Lykaion mountains, on the other, was in historical

times shared by three different regions, each of which claimed its own ethnic identity. Nevertheless, these regions exhibit such similarity in their toponymic conventions,



Map 2: Locations of Parrhasia, Northern Messenia, and Triphylia

religious topography, and cult practices that they must be recognized as forming one continuous cultural zone that persisted even as political borders fluctuated.

All of this is of great interest for the discussion in Chapter 3, which aims to explain how in historical times Mt. Lykaion came to be defined not by its relationship to its own immediate neighborhood, but rather through its connection with the mountainous areas far to the east and north. The process by which competition between the mythological traditions of Azania (northeastern Arcadia) and Parrhasia turned into symbiosis and the eventual ascendancy of Mt. Lykaion as the premier religious site of Arcadia is analyzed with respect to contemporary history in the Archaic period. By the beginning of the Classical period, all of the inhabitants of the central Peloponnese could claim to be the descendants of Lykaon through his grandson Arkas, although, as we shall see, local traditions were persistent alongside this ‘official’ version of Arcadian genealogy.

In particular, I suggest that the aggressive expansion of Sparta that began in the eighth century B.C. and reached its height in the seventh and sixth centuries highlighted the strategic importance of southwestern Arcadia and shined a light on its ancient cult center. As the Messenians and Arcadians warred with the Spartans, the eastern city of Tegea took the lead and recognized that Mt. Lykaion was the linchpin, so to speak, necessary for keeping a permanent Spartan presence out of the Megalopolis Basin. The cult of Zeus Lykaeos became a venue for more than just agonistic competition, as the Laconian style dedications from the Ash Altar imply. In the end, the sanctuary came down firmly on the side of Arcadia and was slingshotted to its preeminent position.

This situation endured into the Classical period of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Starting in the earlier half of the fifth century, the most widely circulated Arcadian coins featured Zeus Lykaios on the obverse. From 421-418 B.C. the Mantineans were attempting to break free from Spartan domination and establish their own hegemony in the central Peloponnese. To this end, they made a point of acquiring Parrhasia, and the Spartans undertook a campaign of ‘liberation’ at the request of some of the locals. Once again, we see Mt. Lykaion and Parrhasia stuck between the powers of eastern Arcadia and the Spartans. In the following century, the Mantineans were more successful and the Arcadian League came into existence. Zeus Lykaios and Pan were featured on the early coinage of Megalopolis – the city in southwestern Arcadia that the League established to serve as a bulwark against further Spartan aggression. Two inscriptions (I-MTL 3 and 5) demonstrate that officials of the League were active in the sanctuary in the 360s and 308 B.C. I therefore maintain the position that Mt. Lykaion served as the federal sanctuary of the Arcadian League, and that this status endured until at least the end of the fourth century B.C.

The study of local agonistic festivals is currently gaining in momentum. Accordingly, in Chapter 4 I turn to the Lykaian Games, documented from the sixth century B.C. until ca. A.D. 220. No one has ever written a history of this festival, and as a result we remain unclear about its most basic aspects. For instance, we do not know how often it was held, nor in what season the athletes competed. Nor is there a clear idea of how the Lykaian Games fit into Greek agonistic culture as a whole. Some scholars suggest that the Lykaia acquired Panhellenic significance, while others maintain that they

were never considered to be anything more than a local Peloponnesian festival. After reviewing of all the literary and epigraphical data, I conclude that the Lykaia were held every four years in the spring of the fourth Olympiad year. While they never quite obtained the prestige held by the four Panhellenic celebrations at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea, the inscriptions nevertheless make it clear that the Lykaia were acknowledged to be particularly significant. The most talented athletes thought it worthwhile to record a victory at Mt. Lykaion alongside triumphs at Olympia and Delphi, and the poetry of Pindar implies that there was something special about the Lykaia. Indeed, Pindar describes the altar of Lykaion as the ἄναξ, the ancient word for a Mycenaean ruler that in Homer is generally restricted to Agamemnon and the gods.

In the final chapter, I discuss the fate of Mt. Lykaion and Parrhasia under the Roman Empire. This period is of particular interest for Arcadia due to the fact that Arcadian ancestry had been ascribed to the Romans at an early point in their history. It was said that Evander had migrated from Arcadia and settled on the Palatine, where he instituted a cult in a cave called the Lupercal. Here Pan Lykaios was worshipped, and the Lupercalia festival was thought to be a reproduction of the Lykaia held on Mt. Lykaion. I suggest that such connections were originally devised as a means for Greeks and Italians to understand one another when they first came into contact. Once they took root, however, they could be used by both sides and could even offer tangible benefits. The majority of the final chapter is therefore devoted to the Lykaia festival in the first and second centuries A.D. It was now called the Lykaia-Kaisareia and paired the worship of Zeus Lykaios with the Roman emperor. The meaning of this dual festival has never been

seriously considered in scholarship. I submit that the Lykaia were chosen as a site for the maintenance of the imperial cult on account of the stories that linked the Lupercalia with the Lykaia. In other words, an old myth about Arcadians in Rome led to significant developments in the religion of Arcadia itself.

The history of southwestern Arcadia has yet to be fully told, and it is my aim here to fill this gap. With this in mind, I have included in an appendix (II) the texts of all the inscriptions that mention Mt. Lykaion, the Lykaia festival, or one of the deities of Mt. Lykaion. I add any epigraphical attestation of the epithet Lykaios or a derivative thereof. I re-studied many of the stones in Greece from 2013-2016, and in some instances readings are supplemented and corrected. I present my findings here for the first time in preliminary form.⁹

⁹ This work will be published more extensively in the first volume of the series *Mt. Lykaion Studies*, edited by D.G. Romano, M.E. Voyatzis, M. Petropoulos, and A. Karapanagiotou.

CHAPTER 1: MYTH AND MEANING ON MT. LYKAION

In this chapter we shall examine the myths associated with Mt. Lykaion and Parrhasia, emphasizing in particular the earliest material from Greek epic poetry. In this way we can assess to what extent prehistoric strata survive in the local mythology, and we will be able to identify innovation in these inherited traditions. The underlying assumption is that the early Greek myth tradition ought to be associated with areas that have a noteworthy prehistoric archaeological stratum, a premise first formulated by the Swedish scholar M.P. Nilsson in the 20th century. But Nilsson of course knew nothing about prehistoric activity at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios,¹⁰ and we now have the benefit of adding Mt. Lykaion to the list of Mycenaean cult sites and, what's more, to the smaller list of sites demonstrating continuity from the Late Bronze Age through to the Early Iron Age and beyond.

This is not to say, however, that change should not be expected. It is inherently implausible to assume that new ideas and changed outlooks were not introduced over the course of four or five centuries. Change is evidenced in the introduction of new kinds of dedications at the Ash Altar at distinct periods, and linguistic and literary data imply that

¹⁰ Nilsson 1972 (first ed., 1932). For the enduring importance of Nilsson's work, cf. the remarks of Dowden 1992, p. 60: "This thesis, of course, has a corollary too: 'the great mythical cycles also which are attached to the Mycenaean centers go back into the Mycenaean age' ... The importance of this thesis cannot be overstated: there was a cultural continuity from the Mycenaean Age to the Historical Age, regardless of the disturbances and silences in the archaeological record ... So from our point of view, myth shadows the Mycenaean palace-based societies and indeed is often sited in their centres." Graf 1993, pp. 68-70 holds a more critical view.

there came to be at least five major elements in the Lykaion cult, namely, 1) rites and myths associated with the bright sky and light; 2) worship of Zeus as the storm god, which featured rain magic; 3) sacred associations with local water sources; 4) rumors of human sacrifice connected with lycanthropy; 5) and worship of the pastoral deity Pan. By unraveling these different elements in the cult of Zeus Lykaios, we can more ably understand their development in Archaic and Classical times, during the course of which they came to help define Arcadian ethnic identity.

The available data is, as is the case for Arcadia more generally, quite limited. Nevertheless, there are indications that Homer and Hesiod knew something about the traditions of Mt. Lykaion and referred to them in their works, albeit obliquely. This brings us to the second major contribution of this chapter. I suggest that knowledge of these traditions resulted from the lifestyle of the Greeks in the eighth century B.C., when religious festivals began to attract poets, pilgrims, warriors, and priests from further and further afield. What early Greek literature knows about Mt. Lykaion and southwestern Arcadia ultimately comes from attendance at the festivals or, at the very least, familiarity with people who attended the festivals, which provided the backdrop for telling and adapting myths. In sum, my investigation of the dynamic relationship between local and Panhellenic traditions leads to the conclusion that local variants of divine myths, such as that of Zeus' birth, were known to our earliest poets, who were already attempting to resolve multiple distinct traditions. I also suggest that heroic myths tied to the local sanctuaries were more widely known than has been acknowledged previously.

What we have, accordingly, is a situation both analogous to and distinct from that reconstructed by Hall with regard to Greek heroic genealogies.¹¹ Hall is correct to point out that these genealogies were aggregative, i.e., that they started from the local level and were gradually built up until many different heroes (and the peoples descended from them) were subsumed under one original ancestor. For most of the Greeks, this ancestor was Hellen, son of Deukalion and Pyrrha. This system was extremely elastic, and it allowed for the creation of ever more connections so as to include more and more groups and their ancestors. It was also functional, in that once created, the imagined familial link had the potential to afford real benefits.¹²

Myths of divine origins seem to have elicited a different reaction. I am speaking here about birth myths, for which our evidence is largely limited to Homer and Hesiod, but in the present case we will also look to the Archaic Cretan sage Epimenides. Whereas heroic genealogies were near infinitely expandable, when there were multiple versions of a deity's birth the poet normally had to choose one and stick with it, at least as far as individual poems were concerned. Yet occasionally the poet betrays knowledge of rival versions, albeit obliquely. We see this, for example, in Hesiod's *Theogony*, where the poet relates the birth of Aphrodite from Ouranos' severed genitals (*Th.* 188-206), but when listing divinities at the outset of the poem, we see the following arrangement (*Th.* 16-17):

¹¹ Hall 1997.

¹² We see this in the case of Elateia (in Phocis) and Stymphalos, who manufactured a tie through their common descent from the Arcadian hero Elatos. When the Romans expelled the Elateians from their home in the 190s B.C., the Stymphalians gave them shelter and land in their own territory, and they eventually secured their safe return to their homes. All of this was done on the grounds that they were cousins. See McNerney 1999, p. 251.

καὶ Θέμιν αἰοίδην ἑλικοβλέφαρον τ' Ἀφροδίτην
Ἕβην τε χρυσοστέφανον καλήν τε Διώνη

Here Aphrodite and Dione – her mother according to Homer (*Il.* 5.370-415) – occupy parallel positions in sequential lines, a hint to the audience that the poet knows the Homeric account of Aphrodite's birth, even though he narrates the alternative version in the body of the poem.

Thus, whereas the source material for these myths was probably just as diverse as that of the heroic genealogies, one did not typically record multiple births and lineages of a divinity. And whereas the body of Panhellenic myth that Homer and Hesiod helped to establish was also aggregative, in the sense that it drew on diverse sources, the process of standardization it underwent was not as flexible. Nevertheless, I will demonstrate that, as was the case with Aphrodite's birth, Hesiod knew about the Lykaian traditions, and that these were not late derivatives of the Hellenistic age but go back to the same formative period.

I: Contextualizing Continuity at Mt. Lykaion

The study of continuity of cult from prehistoric to historical times has recently been stimulated by a series of striking new discoveries, in particular those at Mt. Lykaion and Kalapodi. Niemeier identifies the latter with the historical sanctuary of Apollo at Abai.¹³ Agia Irini on Kea, the Amyklaion in Laconia, and the Polis Cave on Ithaca also

¹³ Niemeier 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010; McInerney 2013, pp. 188-196.

exhibit continuity.¹⁴ Other later cult sites with Mycenaean material include Delphi and Olympia, but continuity cannot be demonstrated.¹⁵

But, as McInerney has recently argued, the continuity exhibited by the remains of Kalapodi does not in any way imply uniformity across time. The strata at Kalapodi differ in the richness of the dedications, and, while a series of temples were built one on top of the other at the site of the same sacred hearth in the Geometric, Early Archaic, Archaic, and Classical periods, a second cult center was added in the ninth century B.C. at the sanctuary's northern end.¹⁶ Furthermore, if Kalapodi was a cult site of Apollo during historical antiquity, there exists the vexed problem surrounding the circumstances of Apollo's incorporation into the Greek pantheon, for he is currently unattested in the Mycenaean records.

Conversely, what is most important about continuity at Mt. Lykaion is the fact that ritual *thysia* (as described by Homer) and drinking ceremonies were continuously performed at the Ash Altar for well over a millennium (apparently into the second century A.D.; Paus. 8.38.7).¹⁷ Accordingly, it is not simply that the same geographical location was used as a sacred area; this conclusion can be made for the Athenian Acropolis from antiquity through to the early modern period, for after antiquity the Parthenon was used first as a church of the Virgin and subsequently as a mosque. Clearly

¹⁴ Coulson 1991; Dickinson 1994, p. 293.

¹⁵ For Olympia, see Eder 2001. On Delphi, where there was a Mycenaean settlement, see Morgan 1990, pp. 107-113; McInerney 1999, pp. 86-92 presents a regional overview.

¹⁶ McInerney 2013, pp. 194-195.

¹⁷ On the ceramics, see the catalog in Romano and Voyatzis 2014, pp. 592-612, nos. 10-92; for the animal bones, see B. Starkovich in Romano and Voyatzis 2014, pp. 644-648; Starkovich, Hodgins, Voyatzis, and Romano 2013; and Mentzer, Romano, and Voyatzis 2014. The analysis of Starkovich et al. 2013 goes through to ca. 500 B.C. but suggests that the same ritual practices continued into subsequent times.

there was continuity of a kind here, but the foci of cult shifted drastically over the course of time. Persistence of ritual practice at Lykaion, on the other hand, adds a much greater depth to the idea of continuity. As we shall discuss below, the particular kind of practice at Lykaion – sacrifice of animals according to Homeric prescriptions at an open-air altar formed from the resulting ashes – accords well with the original referent of the epithet ‘Lykaios.’ I suggest that continuity of cult on this scale implies depth of tradition much more so than at other sites where continuity has been identified.

By way of comparison, consider Cosmopoulos’ recent study of continuity at Eleusis, where there was a break in activity during the Early Iron Age.¹⁸ Cosmopoulos stresses in particular the significance of place and practice for assessing the nature of continuity. At Eleusis, a Late Helladic altar was the setting for burnt animal sacrifices, but when cult resumed in Geometric times, the location and practice had changed, with *enagismoι* now performed on pyres at some distance from the earlier megaron. These new practices were arguably associated with a chthonic cult. Cosmopoulos continues: “these differences suggest that the rituals served different religious needs and that the ‘essence’ of the cult underwent a significant transformation between the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. Despite the continuity in the habitation of the site, there is no evidence to suggest continuity in religious rituals and beliefs and, therefore, continuity in function.” Significantly, we have such continuity at Mt. Lykaion, both with respect to the place of cult and the ritual practiced.

¹⁸ Cosmopoulos 2014, pp. 422-423.

It is also of interest that three more sites where Mycenaean sanctuaries have been identified generally correspond to the topographical situation of Mt. Lykaion, where offerings were made on a remote mountain peak. The sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos produced some Mycenaean material, but admittedly Langdon expresses doubts about its association with the later sanctuary.¹⁹ Mt. Oros on Aegina also has evidence for Late Helladic ritual, including a splendid terracotta figurine.²⁰ More recently, the Greek Archaeological Service has discovered a Mycenaean sanctuary at Agios Ilias on Mt. Arachnaion in the Argolid.²¹ Note that in historical antiquity Hymettos, Arachnaion, and Oros were all centers of Zeus worship, the first of Zeus Ombrios, the second of Zeus and Hera, the third of Zeus Hellanios. It is thus very probable that the localization of Zeus on mountain tops has its origins in a Mycenaean understanding of the world.

There are, of course, skeptical voices on continuity of cult, and these must be acknowledged. Dickinson is generally suspicious of continuity,²² but note his enlightening comment concerning local traditions: “In fact, Greek religion did not exist in a unified form, but rather in a great many variants that might share many features but were ultimately exclusive to particular communities ... Such localised beliefs and practices might be expected to have the deepest roots in the past, but their history is effectively impossible to trace, for, quite apart from the major discontinuities in the archaeological record, it is clear from consideration of the textual evidence available that

¹⁹ Langdon 1976, pp. 53-55, nos. 177-189, 86-87, with fig. 18, pls. 16-17.

²⁰ Pilafidis-Williams 2011.

²¹ Psychoyos and Karatzikos 2011 (Conference Abstract: “Mycenaean Cult on Mount Arachnaion – Summary,” Conference: Mycenaean Up to Date: The Archaeology of the NE Peloponnese – Current Concepts and New Directions).

²² Dickinson 2006, ch. 8; the quote is from p. 222.

a great deal of public religious activity was of a kind that would be almost impossible to identify archaeologically.” Of course, the unbroken continuity at Mt. Lykaion provides us with the rare opportunity of investigating the development of such a local tradition. Sourvinou-Inwood and Whitley have voiced similar concerns about simplistically inferring continuity in tradition from continuity in cult.²³

The only way to get beyond this scholarly impasse is to employ an interdisciplinary approach to the problem, and we must address each individual instance on a case by case basis. This will rid us of the simplistic ideas wrought by incongruous comparisons between sites, which each have their own distinctive histories. Accordingly, in what follows I incorporate archaeological, historical linguistic, literary, geological, and topographical data in order to elucidate continuity and change in the cultic practice and myth tradition of a single locale, that of Mt. Lykaion in Parrhasia.

II: Myth and Linguistics

a. The Significance of *LYK*- Names on Mt. Lykaion

Much ink has been spilled in debating the etymology of the epithet *Lykaios*, and the discussion of such matters is not currently very fashionable.²⁴ In the present case, however, Indo-European parallels indicate that the use of the root *LYK*- as a toponymic designation reflects widespread, ancient Indo-European practice, and the juxtaposition of *Zeus* with *Lykaios* corresponds with formulae from the Ancient Sanskrit *Rig-Veda*, the

²³ Sourvinou-Inwood 1989 and Whitley 2009. Marinatos 2014, pp. 7-10 sets out a clear methodology for reconstructing the religious practices of the Aegean Bronze Age.

²⁴ Zolotnikova 2013 is an exception.

oldest Indo-European poetry we possess. We are accordingly dealing with very archaic conceptualizations of divine space and deities, a point all the more striking when we consider the deep roots of cult activity on Mt. Lykaion. In other words, the fundamental designations of both deity and landscape are mirrored by the deep antiquity of the cult.

We begin with a review of previous scholarship on the matter. One line of thought relies on a strain in the region's mythology and sees in Lykaios a reference to the wolf, Greek λύκος. Others assume it to be a pre-Greek word. A third possibility was suggested by Lee, who argued that Λύκαιον was cognate with the Celtic word for mouse, and that at Mt. Lykaion a mouse god developed into a wolf god and only lastly became a god of light.²⁵ The obvious issue with this theory, however, is that we have no evidence for the mouse at Mt. Lykaion.

A plausible line of thought dismisses any etymological connection with the wolf (or mouse) on the grounds that, if Λύκαιον and Λυκαῖος were truly connected with Greek λύκος, we would not expect the words to appear as they do, for adjectives in -αιος typically derive from α-stem nouns. The Greek adjective for λύκος is λύκειος, because second declension o-stem nouns can form derivatives from an alternative stem in -ε (i.e., λύκε + -ιο-ς).²⁶ The noun underlying the adjective Λυκαῖος is thus *λύκα, a word not connected with the wolf, for she-wolf in Greek is not *λύκα but λύκαινα, and the only words that can be plausibly associated with the former are connected with a root meaning

²⁵ Lee 1962.

²⁶ Smyth 834.

‘light’ rather than ‘wolf.’²⁷ These are Homeric ἀμφιλύκη ‘twilight’ (*Il.* 7.433), the Apolline epithet Λυκηγενής (*Il.* 4.101),²⁸ λυκάβας (*Od.* 14.161, 19.306),²⁹ λευκός ‘bright, white,’ λύχνος ‘lamp’ (< *λύκ-σν-ος), λυκαυγής ‘of the grey twilight,’ λυκόφως ‘twilight,’ and λύσσα ‘rage, fury, frenzy.’³⁰ Ultimately, all of these derive from same root in Proto-Indo-European, **leuk-*, meaning ‘bright, to shine, to see.’³¹

Since the best etymological interpretation for Λύκαιον lies with *λύκα, Cook determined that the former must have originally referred to some notion of ‘light.’ The closest gloss comes from the fifth-century A.D. Latin author Macrobius, who makes the following remark in his *Saturnalia* (1.17.37.):

Prisci Graecorum primam lucem, quae praecedit solis exortus, λύκην
appellaverunt ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκοῦ. Id temporis hodieque λυκόφως cognominant.

²⁷ Cook 1914, pp. 63-68, with older bibliography at p. 64, n. 2. As far as I can tell, the idea seems to have originated with Müller 1830, pp. 325-329. For a recent review, see the studies of Zolotnikova 2005 and 2013. This kind of word formation is found already in Linear B, although the evidence for its status as an independent suffix is inconclusive (meaning that we can only conclude that the practice of adding the -io-suffix to α-stem nouns had already begun in the Late Bronze Age); Householder 1960/1961, pp. 188-189. On the -αιος suffix, see Chantraine 1933, pp. 46-49; Schwyzler 1939, p. 181; Palmer 1980, p. 255. Contra: Gershenson 1991, p. 47, who connects all of the Arcadian *LYK-* place names with the wolf, which he argues was closely associated with the wind. For Gershenson, wolf is actually a word for the wind (p. 24), and the *LYK-* place names in Arcadia are connected with sinkholes and areas where natural gas is emitted from the earth. The problem, as he himself admits, is that for most places in Arcadia with *LYK-* names there are no such chasms.

²⁸ Beekes 2003, pp. 14-15 presents evidence for interpreting the epithet to mean ‘born in Lycia,’ noting that Hittite records mention the place name *Lukkā*. The lack of compositional -i- would make this a very ancient name. The problem: the region known as Lycia in historical times lacks archaeological evidence for occupation until the early first millennium B.C. (Keen 1998, p. 2), at which time the residents called themselves Termilai. There is also an issue with interpreting Λυκηγενής as ‘born in light,’ for Apollo’s association with the sun is late. The epithet Phoibos ‘Shining’ – already known to Homer (e.g., *Il.* 1.43) – nevertheless implies a general association with ‘brightness.’

²⁹ Note, however, the skepticism of Beekes 2010, p. 876, s.v. λυκάβας. For a review of past attempts at interpretation, see Szemerényi 1974, pp. 150-151.

³⁰ From the idea behind λευκαὶ φρένες ‘flashing heart,’ or an angry person’s gleaming eyes. Note that the words most clearly linked with *λύκα are also found in Homer, our earliest literary source.

³¹ The variation in spelling exhibited in λευκ- and λυκ- is due to difference in Indo-European ablaut (λευκ- corresponding to e-grade and λυκ- to zero-grade). Pokorny 1959, pp. 687-690 s.v. leuk- (*leuǵh-); Rix 2001, pp. 418-419, s.v. **leuk-*. For an overview of Indo-European studies, see Mallory 1989. For an introduction to Indo-European linguistics, see Meier-Brügger 2003.

The ancient Greeks called that first light which precedes the rising of the sun *λύκη*, from *λευκός*. Today they call the same thing *λυκόφως*.

According to this solution, *Λύκαιον* must have originally denoted a landscape characterized by light or twilight.³² Fortunately, we have Indo-European parallels for such a place name in Latin *lucus*, ‘sacred grove’ and Old English *lēah* ‘meadow’ (< **lóuk-o-*), both of which originally meant ‘opening to the light’ or ‘place where light shines.’³³ Cognate with these words is Sanskrit *loka*,³⁴ which eventually came to designate the world and its different levels in a spiritual sense.³⁵ We shall return to this issue in Chapter 2 (II, b).

b. Previous Scholarship

In his monumental work on Zeus, Cook explained the epithet *Lykaios* by pointing to aspects of the ritual of *Lykaian Zeus* related to his role as sky and storm god, which understandably include many instances where he is linked with light and lightning.³⁶

Light is also bound with Mt. *Lykaion* in the story of *Lykosoura*, city of *Lykaon*, which

³² *Λύκη* is of course simply the Attic-Ionic form of **λόκα*.

³³ A range of ‘light’-based valences for the root *LYK-* is indicated by the different contexts in which we find it used in historical Greek: in addition to the ‘morning twilight’ instances, we find *ἀμφιλύκη* construed with *νύξ* ‘night’ (likewise, Ael. *NA* 10.26 explains *λυκόφως* as an evening twilight); furthermore, the meaning of *λύχνος* (which is cognate with Latin *lūna* ‘moon’) ‘portable light, lamp’ illustrates a separate – if related – concept. See Frisk 1960, vol. 2, pp. 142-143, s.v. *λυκάβας*, p. 143, s.v. *Λυκηγένης*, p. 146, s.v. *λύσσα*, pp. 147-149, s.v. *λύχνος*; Chantraine 1999, p. 649, s.v. **λόκη*, p. 650, s.v. *Λυκηγένης*, pp. 651-652, s.v. *λύσσα*, p. 652, s.v. *λύχνος*; and Beekes 2010, pp. 879-880, s.v. *λύσσα*, pp. 880-881, s.v. *λύχνος*. Accordingly, in what follows I interpret *LYK-* words as connoting the general sense of ‘light.’ On the toponymic designations, see below, n. 313.

³⁴ Mayrhofer 1976, p. 113, s.v. *loka*.

³⁵ See below, n. 313.

³⁶ Cook 1914, pp. 65-68. The data he collected are: 1) his priest acted as a rain-maker (Paus. 8.38.4); 2) the tragedian Achaëus (fifth century BC) calls Zeus *ἀστεροπός* (‘starry-eyed’) in a play about the Azanians of Arcadia, and this indicates an association with the sky; 3) Zeus transformed his lover Kallisto and her son Arkas into constellations; 4) Roman authors call Zeus *Lykaios* the son of Aether, which would make him an atmospheric deity by descent (Cic. *N.D.* 3.53; Amp. 9.1); 5) in one version of the *Lykaon* myth, Zeus strikes the hero and his sons with lightning (Apollod. 3.8.1-2).

was the first to be seen by the sun,³⁷ and note also that the southern side of Lykaion was called Mt. Kerausion (< κεραυνός ‘thunderbolt’; Paus. 8.41.3).³⁸

Clear connections with light are found in the temenos of Zeus Lykaios, which was fronted by two columns mounted with gilded eagles. Pausanias links these with the rising sun (8.38.7), and Mylonas associated the columns and their eagles with Minoan-Mycenaean religious iconography and saw in them evidence for prehistoric worship.³⁹ A key element in his argument focused upon prehistoric sacred mound-altars, which he was able to identify in the iconography of Minoan and Mycenaean art.⁴⁰

Pausanias’ description (8.30.2) of the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios in Megalopolis indicates that the Arcadians of the mid-fourth century B.C. essentially preserved his nature as a sky divinity.⁴¹ Mirroring the mountain temenos was an enclosure lacking an entrance, and inside were altars and two tables corresponding to the mound of ashes. Similarly, there were two eagles, just as there were two eagles facing the rising sun on Mt. Lykaion. Lastly, a statue of Pan illustrated his association with the Lykaion cult.

³⁷ Paus. 8.38.1. See below, Chapter 2 (II, b), where the name is compared with the Mycenaean toponym *ru-ko-a₂-ke-re-u-te* /*Lukohagreuthen*/, which is analyzed as *Λυκός ‘of light’ + ἀγρός ‘uncultivated area.’

³⁸ Jost 1985, p. 253, n. 1. Zeus Keraunos is known at Mantinea in the fifth century B.C. (*IG* V, 2.288), while an imperial Zeus Keraunobolos appears at Tegea (*IG* V, 2.37). The new Archaic inscription published by Heinrichs in 2015 includes a dedication for Κεραυνῶι. I believe this text is from Heraia, not Mt. Lykaion; see Appendix I. Zolotnikova 2013, p. 104 calls our attention to the seventh (or sixth) century B.C. bronze figurine of Zeus brandishing a thunderbolt and holding an eagle, discovered in the temenos by Kourouniotis.

³⁹ Mylonas 1943.

⁴⁰ Mylonas 1977, pp. 50-51, 56, where he favors the connection with Mycenaean practice over Minoan. When one passed the eagles and entered the temenos, he entered a zone where no shadows were cast (Paus. 8.38.6; Polyb. 16.12.7; Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 39; schol. Callim. *Hymn* 1.13). Theopompus held that this phenomenon was due to “bodies being placed in light” (ἐν τῶν σωμάτων ἐν φωτὶ τιθέμενα; *BNJ* 115 F 343). Cook 1914, p. 66-67 interprets the statement to mean a divine light encircling the peak.

⁴¹ On this sanctuary, see Jost 1994, p. 227 and 1999, pp. 231-232. We cannot be absolutely certain that the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios in Megalopolis was of fourth century B.C. date, but it would make good sense for it to have been established at the foundation of the city. Zeus Lykaios and Pan decorated the early coins of Megalopolis; see below, Chapter 3, II, c.

Notice that the wolf is absent.

It would seem that Cook's argument is verified, but what we actually have here are two distinct guises of Zeus, one representing the god of the bright sky, the other the storm god. Cook was wrong to conflate the two and interpret both aspects as indicative of a god of light. The fact that we find both elements on Mt. Lykaion is not surprising, however, for scholars have long realized that at some prehistoric date the Greek Zeus took on the attributes of the Indo-European storm god, **Perkʷunos*.⁴² It is therefore often impossible to unravel the two aspects of the divinity, which by historical times were so closely connected that it went without question that Zeus was both the bright sky and the cloud-gatherer.

c. The Contribution of Topography and Geology

Kerényi stressed that the name of Zeus and his Proto-Indo-European predecessor **Dyḗws* are ultimately derivatives of a verb **diw-* with perfective aspect. This means that 'Zeus' literally signifies the "*moment of lighting up*."⁴³ Zeus can therefore be the bright sky, the moment of illumination, an anthropomorphic figure, a lightning strike, etc. But understanding epithets is more difficult.⁴⁴ Versnel maintains that when it came to thinking about a god with different epithets, the "Greeks had to live with two (or more) indeed mutually exclusive realities and *yet coped with the inherent paradoxes and*

⁴² Zolotnikova 2013, pp. 13-16.

⁴³ Kerényi 1975, pp. 4-10 (*italics original*).

⁴⁴ Cf. Versnel 2011, p. 83 for further thoughts on the matter.

inconsistences.”⁴⁵

Parker calls our attention to an important point: cult epithets have a variety of purposes, but the two most common serve 1) to activate a particular aspect or power of a god in prayer (function-specifying), or 2) to “differentiate cult sites on earth from one another” (topographical).⁴⁶ In the case of Lykaios we have evidence for both functions, so that – to modify Versnel’s turn of phrase – Lykaios is in a sense mutually inclusive. Zeus is surnamed Lykaios because he resides on the peak of Mt. Lykaion, which in turn is the appropriate place for a divinity of the bright sky (*LYK-*). As Parker goes on to demonstrate, sometimes a group of topographical epithets collectively refer to a particular aspect of a god: “Take for instance the extremely numerous epithets of Zeus that derive from mountains. Obviously they are topographical, but they are not merely that; they also relate to a distinctive characteristic of Zeus, a function, the way in which he oversees the affairs of the world from high places.”

Accordingly, the epithet Lykaios puts Zeus and his cult in a specific landscape, and the epithet itself helps to define how that landscape was conceptualized. Light that struck a mountain’s eastern face was from an early date associated with Zeus and the gods, as can be seen from Homer’s formulae that record dawn bringing her light to Zeus and the immortals on Olympus (e.g., *Il.* 2.48-49: ἡὼς μὲν ῥα θεὰ προσεβήσετο μακρὸν Ὀλυμπόν / Ζηνὶ φέως ἐρέουσα καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν). A similar mindset is expressed when Homer speaks of Τιτάνοιό τε λευκὰ κάρηνα (“the bright peaks of Titanos”; *Il.*

⁴⁵ Versnel 2011, p. 85 (*italics original*). He continues: “There cannot be any doubt that mythical and (local) cultic personae of a god might diverge dramatically.”

⁴⁶ Parker 2003; the quote is from p. 176.

2.735). The columns-cum-eagles at Lykaion express this same idea iconographically: in prehistoric times the sacred bird was associated with the epiphany of a deity,⁴⁷ which means that, as the sun's rays reached the eagles, in a certain sense the dawn was literally shedding for the divinity on his sacred mountain.⁴⁸ This way of thinking is encapsulated in Hector's statement that he cared not if birds flew rightward towards the sun or leftward to darkness.⁴⁹ Lykosoura's status as the first city to be seen by the sun exhibits the same conceptualization, and the nearby sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae reveals a similar concern with illumination from the east, for the temple, which has a north-south orientation, has a door on the eastern side.⁵⁰

The topographical setting of Lykaion is particularly susceptible to this same kind of thought pattern, since the mountain is aligned north to south and is bordered on its eastern side by the flat basin of Megalopolis. Furthermore, the altar itself is a particular kind of geological formation called a thrust klippe, which was formed as the nappe or thrust sheet forming the uppermost geological stratum of Lykaion gradually eroded away.⁵¹ The result is the peculiar dome-shaped southern peak, whose eastern and southern sides are fronted by flat areas that define the temenos and entrance with its columns and eagles. By contrast, the north peak is craggy and irregular, without a clear spot marking the highest point. The green dome of the altar, where the accumulated earth is too shallow for significant foliage to grow, is oriented such that it has a gentle slope on

⁴⁷ Mylonas 1943, pp. 128-129.

⁴⁸ Cf. the bronze statue of Zeus at Olympia described by Paus. 5.22.5: Προελθόντι δὲ ὀλίγον Ζεὺς ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα τετραμμένος τὸν ἥλιον, ἀετὸν ἔχων τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ τῇ ἐτέραι τῶν χειρῶν κεραυνόν.

⁴⁹ *Il.* 12.239-240: εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξιῇ ἴωσι πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε, / εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοί γε ποτὶ ζόφον ἡερόεντα.

⁵⁰ Boutsikas and Ruggles 2011, p. 57.

⁵¹ Davis 2009.

the eastern side. To an observer, the thrust klippe appears to be the highest point in the region and thus the highest eminence illuminated by the sun. The local geology accordingly offered an ideal location for centering a cult for the divinity of the bright sky and illumination.

d. The Comparative Evidence from Ancient Sanskrit

Scholars have not yet identified the most striking evidence for the antiquity of the juxtaposition of Zeus with the epithet Lykaïos. As I mentioned in the introduction to this section, the earliest preserved Indo-European poetry is found in the *Rig-Veda*, a collection of ten books of hymns written in Ancient Sanskrit. These hymns can be conservatively dated to 1500-1300 B.C.⁵² As Proto-Indo-European separated into its daughter languages, Indo-Iranian and Greek continued to be in close geographical proximity to one another, and this resulted in their development of shared linguistic innovations. More precisely, both augment before past tenses and have a medio-passive verb form with a suffixed *-i*.

Connections are not limited to shared linguistic developments, however.⁵³ In cult and ritual, Indo-Iranian and Greek likewise correspond: both use the same term for the hecatomb (ἑκατόμβη/*śata-gu-*), along with its associated ritual act; both call the gods ‘those who give riches’ (δοτήρες ἐάων/*dātā́ vásūnām*); both preserved cognate names for the deities Erinyes/*Saranyu*, *Kérberos*/*Śárvara*, and – most significantly for Arcadia – Pan/*Pūṣán*. In the realm of poetry, Homer and the *Rig-Veda* share cognate expressions,

⁵² Mallory 1989, pp. 33-37.

⁵³ Anthony 2007, pp. 55-56.

such as the phrase for ‘fame everlasting’ (κλέος ἄφθιτον/*śrávas ákṣitam*), and Greek and Indo-Iranian have the same two kinds of verse, the twelve-syllable line (Sapphic/Alcaic) and the eight-syllable line.⁵⁴ Similarly, Greek and Indo-Iranian poetry use the imperfect tense when narrating past events. In terms of divine names, Greek and Sanskrit correspond in the juxtaposition *Dyaus Pítar* and Ζεῦ Πάτερ (vocative) for the name of the chief Indo-European god of the bright sky, although they are not alone in doing so. Note also that the name of the Διόσκουροι finds a parallel in a descriptive term for the Áśvins (likewise divine horsemen), *Divó nápātā*, ‘[Grand]sons of Dyaus.’

With all of this in mind, it is highly significant that we find in the *Rig-Veda* expressions cognate or closely related to Ζεὺς Λυκάιος. Most common is the juxtaposition of *rocanā* (n. pl., ‘lights, light space’) and *dyaus* (‘heaven, sky,’ directly cognate with Zeus). A particularly striking example is found in *Rig-Veda* 1.6.1, a hymn to Indra that begins⁵⁵:

yuñjānti bradhnám aruṣám
cārantam pári tasthúṣaḥ
rócante rocanā diví

They who stand round him as he moves harness the bright, ruddy steed,
The lights are shining in the sky.⁵⁶

The phrase *rócante rocanā diví* links two forms of Indo-European **leuk-*, one verbal

⁵⁴ For an overview, see Watkins 1995, ch. 2.

⁵⁵ For Sanskrit texts I give the metrically restored version by K. Thomson and J. Slocam, available online at <http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc/RV/>.

⁵⁶ Translation by R.T.H. Griffith (1896), slightly modified; available online at <http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/rigveda/index.htm>.

(*rócante*) and one nominal (*rocanā́*),⁵⁷ with the locative *diví*, which is cognate with Greek Διϝί (dat./loc. of Zeus).

The same mindset that gave the epithet Lykaïos to Zeus in Greek is at work in this hymn to Indra, who mythologically speaking is a close match for Zeus. Indra is the wielder of lightning (*vajra*), the son of Dyaus, and he who slew the dragon *Vṛtrá* (also known as *Trisírás*).⁵⁸ Indeed, in this same hymn (*RV* 1.6.1), Indra is called upon to “come down from the lights of heaven” (*divó ... rocanā́d*). In another song, Indra is credited with establishing and securing the lights of heaven (*rocanā́ diví*), and he is called upon “in the highest realm of heaven’s light” (*upamé rocané diváh*).⁵⁹ Similarly, yet another hymn to Indra (*RV* 1.81.3-5) characterizes the god in a manner that is reminiscent of Hesiod’s praises of Zeus⁶⁰:

yád udīrata ājáyō
dhr̥ṣṇāve dhīyate dhánā
yukṣvā madacyūtā hárī
kām hānaḥ kām vásau dadho
asmāṃ indra vásau dadhaḥ

krátvā mahāṃ anuṣvadhām

⁵⁷ Mayrhofer 1976, pp. 75-76, sv. *rócate*; Mayrhofer 1992, pp. 463-464, s.v. *ROC*. Both derive from e-grade **leuk-*.

⁵⁸ See *RV* 1.32, with translation and commentary by Puhvel 1987, pp. 51-55. On Indra’s relationship with Dyaus, see also Dunkel 1990, p. 6.

⁵⁹ *RV* 8.14.9. For other germane examples, cf. *RV* 1.19.6a-b, 1.93.5a, 1.146.1d, 1.155, 3.2.14 (Agni is described as *ketúm divó rocanasthām uṣarbúdam* or “he who stands in heaven’s bright sphere as a sign, he who wakes at dawn,” where *rocanasthām* is an adjective describing Agni, who is the *ketúm divó* or “sign in heaven”; modified translation of Griffith (1896)), 3.12.9a, 6.1.7d, 6.7.7b, 6.44.23c, 8.1.18a-b, 8.5.8, 8.10.1b, 8.94.9b, 8.97.5a, 8.98.3b, 9.37.3a, 9.42.1a, 9.75.2d (= 1.155.3d), 9.85.9b, 9.86.27d, 10.170.4b (= 8.98.3b). Less direct juxtapositions include *RV* 3.56.8, 4.53.5, 4.56.1, 5.69.1a, 8.55.2, 9.17.5, 9.110.6b, 10.45.8.

⁶⁰ Translation by R.T.H. Griffith (1896), slightly modified. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 1-8: μούσαι Πιερίηθεν αἰοιδῆσιν κλείουσαι / δεῦτε, Διῖ ἐννέπετε, σφέτερον πατέρ’ ὑπνείουσαι: / ὄντε διὰ βροτοὶ ἄνδρες ὁμῶς ἄφατοί τε φατοί τε, / ῥήτοί τ’ ἄρρητοί τε Διὸς μέγαλοιο ἔκητι. / ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βριάει, ῥέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει, / ῥεῖα δ’ ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει, / ῥεῖα δὲ τ’ ἰθύνει σκολίων καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει / Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, ὅς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει.

*bhīmá ā vāṛdhe śávaḥ
śriyá ṛṣvá upākáyor
ní śiprī hárivān dadhe
hástayor vājram āyasám*

*ā paprau pāṛthivaṃ rájo
badbadhé **rocanā divī**
ná tvāvāṃ indra káś caná
ná jātó ná janiṣyate
āti víśvaṃ vavakṣitha*

When war and battles are on foot, booty is laid before the bold.
Yoke your wildly-rushing Bays. Whom will you slay and whom enrich? O
Indra, make us rich.

Mighty through wisdom, as he lists, terrible, he has waxed in strength.
Lord of Bay Steeds, strong-jawed, sublime, he in joined hands for glory's
sake has grasped his iron thunderbolt.

He filled the earthly atmosphere and **pressed against the lights in
heaven**. None like you has ever been born, none, Indra, will be born like
you. You have waxed mighty over all.

We see the same formula in hymns to other deities. *Rig-Veda* 1.49, a short piece
in honor of the dawn goddess *Uṣas* (whose name is cognate with Greek Ὕως) begins:

*úṣo bhadrébhir ā gahi
divāś cid **rocanā** ādhi*

Even from above **the sky's bright realm** come, *Uṣas*, by auspicious
ways.⁶¹

Here, the expression once again links Indo-European **leuk-* with the Indic
equivalent of Zeus.⁶² A variation has the noun *rocanā* modified with an adjective derived
from *Dyaus*, *diviyā*, formally parallel with Mycenaean *di-wi-jo/di-u-jo* and *di-wi-ja/di-u-*

⁶¹ Translation by R.T.H. Griffith (1896).

⁶² Compare again *Il.* 2.48-49: ἥως μὲν ῥα θεὰ προσεβήσετο μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον / Ζηνὶ φῶος ἐρέουσα καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν. This formula is repeated verbatim in *RV* 5.56.1d, 8.8.7a. Cf. also *RV* 3.6.7a-b, in reference to the god of fire, Agni: *divāś cid ā te rucayanta rokā uṣó vibhātīr ānu bhāsi pūrvīḥ* (“Even from the sky your brilliant lights shone hither: still have you beamed through many a radiant morning”; translation by R.T.H. Griffith (1896), slightly modified).

ja.⁶³

Rig-Veda 1.105.5a-b describes all the gods as *amīyē devā sthāna triṣū á rocané diváh* (“you gods who yonder have your home in the three lucid realms of heaven”),⁶⁴ a characterization that is especially important for understanding another striking correspondence. *Rig-Veda* 3.7.5 reads⁶⁵:

*jānānti vṛṣṇo aruṣāsya śévam
utá bradhnásya śāsane raṇanti
divorúcaḥ surúco rócamānā
ilā yésām gāṇiyā māhinā gīḥ*

They know the red Bull's blessing, and are joyful under the flaming-colored Lord's dominion:
They who give shine from heaven with fair effulgence, whose lofty song like Ila must be honored.

The hymn is intentionally obscure,⁶⁶ but Griffith's gloss “[t]hey who give” indicates that he thought the compound adjective *divorúcaḥ* referred to the gods at large. Geldner interprets the hymn as a piece in honor of Agni, the god of fire. For him, *divorúcaḥ* refers back to the previous line, so that *divorúcaḥ* is a genitive singular modifying *bradhnásya* and thus perhaps refers to the god as the “glowing one (*bradhnásya*) who shines from heaven (*divorúcaḥ*).”⁶⁷ In any event, the form of the epithet is of greater interest to us.

The *divo*- element derives from Dyaus,⁶⁸ while *rúcaḥ* exhibits not the e-grade seen in *rocané*, but rather the zero-grade, as is the case in Λυκάιος. It thus becomes apparent that

⁶³ *RV* 2.27.9a (repeated at 5.29.1b), 10.32.2a.

⁶⁴ The formula is repeated at *RV* 8.69.3d. Cf. also *RV* 3.6.8b.

⁶⁵ Translation by R.T.H. Griffith (1896), slightly modified.

⁶⁶ Geldner 2003, p. 343.

⁶⁷ Geldner 2003, pp. 343-344. He translates the whole verse as follows: “Sie kennen den teuren (Namen?) des rötlichen Bullen und sie freuen sich über die Herrschaft des Bradhna, des vom Himmel leuchtenden, die Erleuchteten, Erstrahlenden, zu deren Gefolge die Ilā (und) die gewaltige Rede gehört.”

⁶⁸ Mayrhofer 1986, pp. 750-752, s.v. *dyāv*-; Mayrhofer 1992, pp. 463-464, s.v. *ROC*.

divorúcaḥ, a descriptive term for heavenly divinities, is formally a very close match for Ζεὺς Λυκαῖος.⁶⁹

Accordingly, Ancient Sanskrit preserved a mindset that juxtaposed the bright sky with the Indo-European root **leuk-*, and we see the same linguistic collocation in the Greek name of Zeus Lykaïos. This correspondence takes on added significance when we consider the fact that this concept is deeply rooted in the poetry of the *Rig-Veda*, where we find it in one form or another dozens of times. Scholars of Indo-European poetics have demonstrated that inherited poetic forms – formulaic, metrical, and stylistic – abound in the different traditions of this language family.⁷⁰ Sometimes, as in the case of κλέος ἄφθιτον and *śrávas ákṣitam*, the correspondences are directly cognate. Watkins, however, has demonstrated that this is not a prerequisite for identifying thematically similar material that goes back to Indo-European times.

For example, Watkins traces the English expression ‘goods and chattels’ back to the 15th century A.D., and he identifies an 11th century Latin predecessor in *bonorum aliorum sive cattalorum*. But the idea is already found in the poetry of Homer, where we see κειμήλιά τε πρόβασίν τε (*Od.* 2.75). Thus, Watkins is able to conclude that “[i]n its semantics and as the expression of a cultural theme the formula *goods and chattels* goes all the way back to Indo-European, even if the particular verbal expression, the wording of the phrase itself, does not. Lexical renewal of one or more components of a formula

⁶⁹ Cf. also *RV* 7.63.4a, where *Mitra-Varuṇa* is called *divó rukmá*, in Geldner’s translation “[d]es Himmels Goldschmuck”; on *Mitra-Varuṇa*, see Puhvel 1987, pp. 48-49.

⁷⁰ Watkins 1995, ch. 2.

does not affect its semantic integrity nor its historical continuity.”⁷¹ Wackernagel connected poetic diction with the hieratic language of cult, most notably in corresponding juxtapositions such as Ζεῦ πάτερ, Jupiter, and *Dyaus Pítar*.⁷² The language of Indo-European poetry is closely related to that of religious practice.

As Watkins concludes, when we find that a word or phrase was formulaic in one tradition and identify a parallel in another, we must conclude that both ultimately descend from a common ancestor. This common ancestor makes its presence known in the “inherited tendency” found in the “‘literary,’ ‘artistic,’ or otherwise non-ordinary verbal messages” in the daughter languages.⁷³ We can explain the fact that in the *Rig-Veda* the juxtaposition of Indo-European **leuk-* with Dyaus refers to the actual or imagined bright realms of the sky, whereas in Greek the same juxtaposition designates the most preeminent divinity of the pantheon. In the Indic tradition, Dyaus has become the *deus otiosus*, important only for his mating with earth (*Prthivī*) and as the father of other gods who have usurped his role as ruler of the Indo-European pantheon.⁷⁴ Zeus and Jupiter, on the other hand, retained their original significance as gods of the bright sky, and they even added the functions of the storm and weather god.

The inclusion of Jupiter here is significant, for we have the following fragment (2) from one of the oldest preserved Latin poems, the *Carmen Saliare*:

*cume tonas, **Leucesie**, prae tet tremonti*

⁷¹ Watkins 1995, pp. 9-10 (quote from p. 10, italics original).

⁷² Watkins 1995, p. 25.

⁷³ Watkins 1995, p. 18, borrowing the idea of the “inherited tendency” from Kirk.

⁷⁴ Puhvel 1987, pp. 59-60.

quom tibi cunei, dextumum tonaront.

Here Jupiter is addressed as Lucetius, the god ‘of light,’⁷⁵ where the epithet is built on the same Indo-European root (**leuk-*). Relying on all of this comparative data, we can safely conclude that the name of the deity worshipped on Mt. Lykaion, Zeus Lykaios, exhibits a very ancient Indo-European tendency for conceptualizing the divinity of the bright sky, in the same way that Ζεύ πάτερ, Jupiter, and *Dyaus Pítar* do. That Zeus Lykaios was himself once a greater part of the Greek poetic tradition could be indicated by Alcman’s hymn in his honor (*PMGF* F 24), which would have drawn upon traditional material.

e. Summary

The archaeological evidence for the antiquity of the cult on Mt. Lykaion is mirrored by the form of ritual, which follows the oldest prescriptions known to us from Homer. In the same way, the comparative literary and linguistic data indicate that the nomenclature of the cult traces back to very ancient Indo-European conceptions of the world. This is not merely a bit of trivia, for it is of great historical interest that Arcadia preserved so many archaisms. This was particularly the case for religious matters, for we have seen that, in addition to Zeus Lykaios, the Indic and Arcadian traditions correspond in preserving the ancient Indo-European pastoral god, Pan/*Pūṣán*.⁷⁶ The Arcadian dialect is closest to Mycenaean Linear B, and, as we shall see in Chapter 2 (I, b), in the historical period Arcadian religion preserved many archaic traits that ultimately go back to

⁷⁵ *OCD*³, 2003, pp. 292-293, s.v. *Carmen Saliare* or *Carmina Saliaria* (Holford-Stevens). The text is restored by Allen 1908, p. 74, no. 157a.

⁷⁶ Cf. the remarks of Puhvel 1987, p. 63: “The Indic-Greek parallel points here to an ancient Indo-European cattle-god whose role has come to transcend rangeland concerns and take in far-ranging nomadic horizons.”

Mycenaean times. The antiquity of the cult – archaeologically and otherwise – is, as Hall has recently suggested, also apparent in its association with Arcadian traditions of autochthony.⁷⁷

The myth surrounding Lykaon – whose name cannot be separated from Zeus Lykaios and Mt. Lykaion⁷⁸ – supports the conclusions we have reached here. There were two strands in the tradition about Lykaon.⁷⁹ On the one hand, he is the transgressor against Zeus who attempted to serve him the flesh of a roasted child and was duly punished by being turned into a wolf; on the other hand, Lykaon is a bringer of civilization and founder of religious rites.⁸⁰

Closely bound to this latter tradition – which Piccaluga stresses is the original one⁸¹ – is the establishment of sacrificial rituals. Given that Lykaon is credited with instituting the Lykaia, his initial activity was presumably pleasing to Zeus. In this connection, it is intriguing that Lykaon's name can be linked with the form of sacrifice described in Greek epic. Homer (*Il.* 3.103-104) tells us that, prior to the duel between Menelaos and Paris, the armies sacrificed a white ram (λευκόν) to Helios and a black ewe

⁷⁷ Hall 2015, p. 42; fr. 161 Merkelbach-West calls Lykaon the son of autochthonous Pelasgos.

⁷⁸ Names in -άων are particularly common in Mycenaean and epic Greek; Ruijgh 1968. Lykaon's name in all probability goes back to *λύκα, just as the mountain's name does. Ten -άων personal names are derived from α-stem nouns, and of these there are three more cases where the original noun has disappeared (Πορθάων: *πορθά; Ἀλκμάων: *ἄλκμά; Ἰκετάων: *ἰκετά). A semantic (and partially morphological) parallel exists in the Mycenaean name *pa-wa-wo* /*P^hawawon*/ (PY Cn 285, Vn 493), where the other Greek root for 'light,' φα-, is modified by the same suffix.

⁷⁹ *OCD*³, 2005, p. 893, s.v. Lykaon (Jost).

⁸⁰ For the latter, cf. the version of Nikolaos of Damascus (*FGrH* 90 F 38), where Lykaon is a good ruler who ἐφύλαττε τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰσηγήματα ἐν δικαιοσύνη. In this recension his sons devise and implement the test of Zeus.

⁸¹ Piccaluga 1968, where the author isolates the theme of an initial state of commensality between gods and men. This is interrupted by drought, pushing man to offer an unholy human sacrifice. The result is a deluge and the birth of the current world, where man benefits from agriculture supported by rain. Lykaon is also treated in Borgeaud 1988, pp. 23-31.

to Ge. Zeus received a third offering, specified as a ram but without designation for the color.⁸² That it was white is supported by the ritual practice at the ash altar of Zeus at Olympia, where Pausanias tells us that one could burn an offering only with white poplar wood (λεύκη in Greek).⁸³ Similarly, when describing the division of sacrifice at Mekone (*Th.* 535-560), Hesiod speaks of the bright bones (ὀστέα λευκά) that Prometheus set out for Zeus. When Zeus makes his choice, we are told that he seizes the bright fat (λευκὸν ἄλειψαρ), and twice more we hear of the ὀστέα λευκά.⁸⁴

There is thus a connection between the form of sacrifice at Lykaion, the cultic nomenclature, and the associated sacrificial terminology found in Greek epic. Whether or not there was ever human sacrifice on Mt. Lykaion, the origin of this practice is similarly ascribed to Lykaon, demonstrating this figure's close association with sacrificial rituals. In the end, we can say that Mt. Lykaion and its two most distinctive gods have very deep roots in the Indo-European past, and in this way they mirror the antiquity of the archaeologically attested sacrificial rites and, more generally, the human presence at the Ash Altar.

⁸² On the significance of the colors μέλας (black) and λευκός (white) in myth and sacrifice, see Buxton 2013, pp. 60-65 (p. 61 for sacrifice of white animals to Zeus). Note also that λευκὸν ἡμᾶρ was the proverbial expression for 'lucky day'; again, Zeus Lykaios (the former closely connected to the Indo-European word for 'day') is a close parallel. As for an association linking white and high mountains, cf. Paus. 8.17.3, where white blackbirds (!) (κόσσυφοι ... ὀλόλευκοι) are said to inhabit Mt. Kyllene; Casevitz 2010, p. 16.

⁸³ 5.14.2. This point is made all the more interesting by the fact that early Olympia was used by western Peloponnesian notables – particularly Arcadians and Messenians – as a neutral meeting ground for cult, commerce, and negotiation; Morgan 1990, pp. 61-105. It would not be surprising if a similar ritual prescription was in place on Mt. Lykaion, and note that the sanctuary of Zeus Leukaios (Zeus of the White Poplar) was located at Lepreon, on the route between Lykaion and the Alpheios Valley.

⁸⁴ Buxton 1987, p. 73 notes the similarity between the stories of Lykaon and Mekone.

III: Homer

The Homeric poems offer us the earliest extensive written account of a Greek world. Unfortunately, it is not at all clear what time period(s) the poet represents.⁸⁵ Opinions vary widely, from the assertion that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are essentially entirely Mycenaean,⁸⁶ to the idea that we already see the nascent polis embedded within the societal framework of Homer's world.⁸⁷ Arcadia plays only a small role in these early Greek epics, but there are two important contexts where the region and its inhabitants come to the forefront. It will be useful to analyze these passages in the context of Mt. Lykaion and its archaeology. It turns out that there is a good chance that Homer – and the epic tradition before him – was familiar with myths from Mt. Lykaion.

Before turning to the passages, however, it is first necessary to say something about the context and composition of Homer's work.⁸⁸ The tradition of heroic oral poetry can be traced back to the Early Mycenaean period at the latest.⁸⁹ Certain words generally restricted to Homer, the dialects of Arcadia and Cyprus, and the Linear B tablets imply

⁸⁵ That said, he clearly means to represent the heroic age of the Late Bronze Age; see the remarks of Hoekstra 1981, pp. 54-57. For a recent overview of the question and scholarly tradition, see Bennet 2014.

⁸⁶ Page 1959, pp. 218-296; Shear 2000 and 2004; Latacz 2004; Wiener 2007.

⁸⁷ On this view, see especially Morris 1986, who argues that, although descriptions of objects often correspond with the material culture of the Late Bronze Age, nevertheless the way society functions is essentially representative of the eighth century B.C. In much the same vein are Bennet 1997 and Raaflaub 1997, 1997-1998, and 2006. Finley 1978 suggested that Homer's world encapsulates the Dark Ages, i.e., the tenth-ninth centuries B.C. His study, originally published in 1957-1958, inaugurated the highly critical attitude towards associating Homer with the Late Bronze Age.

⁸⁸ The following summary is drawn from Janko 1992, pp. 8-19, and Ruijgh 2011, pp. 255-262.

⁸⁹ That is, at the very latest; of course, this kind of poetry goes back to much earlier times, given correspondences between different Indo-European traditions. On the Greek material, see Horrocks 1980, who demonstrated that the use of tmesis in the Homeric poems preserves a very ancient, pre-Linear B linguistic feature. Fundamental is West 1988, which reconstructs the prehistory of Greek epic, concluding that certain themes were already known in early Mycenaean times, such as (p. 159) "warfare involving Minoans: the Mycenaean conquest of Crete? ... the hulking strength of Ajax and the Zeus-like μητις of Odysseus."

that Late Bronze Age bards performed epic in the Mycenaean language.⁹⁰ After the fall of the palaces, Greek heroic poetry was especially preserved by speakers of Aeolic dialects, first in Thessaly and Boeotia, and after ca. 1000 B.C. in Lesbos and Aeolis.⁹¹ Assuming this ‘Aeolic Phase’ is the only way to account for certain features of Homeric language.⁹² Finally, poets speaking the Ionic dialect inherited the Aeolic tradition and highly Ionicized its language. Here we reach the stage at which Homer composed the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

The upshot of all this is that Homer’s poems present us with an amalgam of several different historical eras, at one and the same time representing the world of the eighth century B.C. and hearkening back to the Mycenaean age of heroes.⁹³ The two significant Homeric moments for Arcadia are both found in the *Iliad*. Firstly, we have the episode of Lykourgos in book seven, which I argue reflects an Arcadian rite of passage. Secondly, we have Arcadia’s entry in the Catalogue of Ships, which demonstrates that certain fundamental conceptions about Arcadia and its people were already current in the days of Homer, and arguably even earlier. Homer is the starting point for all literary references to Arcadia. Accordingly, these two moments have great significance for the study of the local mythology of Mt. Lykaion and its incorporation into the wider Panhellenic tradition.

⁹⁰ Bowra 1926; Parry 1971, p. 316; Ruijgh 2011, p. 255. On the archaeological side, note the lyre-player fresco from the Throne Room of Pylos; Lang 1969, pp. 79-80, no. 43 H6, pls. 27, 125, 126A. In the Linear B tablets from Thebes there is mention of *ru-ra-ta-e /luratahe/* ‘two lyre-players’ (TH Av 106).

⁹¹ For an interesting and thought provoking hypothesis that links this model to the archaeological evidence, see Bennet 2014, pp. 220-222.

⁹² See Janko 1982, pp. 89-92 and Janko 1992, pp. 15-19. Especially important for validating the Aeolic Phase are the genitive singulars in -*ao* and plurals in -*ᾶων*, which have not been Ionicized to -*ηο* and -*ῆων*.

⁹³ McInerney 1999, p. 125.

a. The Arcadia of the Homeric Audience

Certain characteristic conceptualizations of Arcadia and its people were already familiar to Homer and his audience. The Catalogue of Ships knows the toponym Ἀρκαδία, and the description of the region includes much of the territory familiar from historical times.⁹⁴ The Catalogue also knows that the Arcadians were landlocked mountaineers, for the poet notes that Agamemnon had to provide them with ships and describes the region as “under the high mountain of Kyllene.” Pretzler has pointed out that, when the poet calls the Arcadians ἄνδρες ἀγχιμαχηταί (*Il.* 2.604) and ἐπιστάμενοι πολέμειν (*Il.* 2.611) (to which we may add *Il.* 7.134: ἐγγεσίμωροι), he betrays knowledge of a tradition that the Arcadians were excellent fighters. This characterization lasted well into the Roman imperial period, as did the idea that Arcadia was rich in flocks (*Il.* 2.605: Ὀρχομενὸν πολύμηλον).⁹⁵ We should therefore not be surprised if the epic tradition knows about major cults and myths of Arcadia.

b. Lykourgos, Ereuthalion, Lycanthropy, and Arcadian Military Rituals

In book seven of the *Iliad* we hear of two heroes, Lykourgos and Ereuthalion. The latter was Nestor’s opponent at the battle between the Arcadians and Pylians at Pherai (7.123-160). In the course of his description of the fight, Nestor tells how Ereuthalion was wearing the armor of the club-wielding Areïthoos, given to Ereuthalion by his master Lykourgos, who had himself stripped it from the corpse of Areïthoos in an ambush.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Nielsen 1999, pp. 48-49.

⁹⁵ Pretzler 2009.

⁹⁶ On this story, see Kirk 1990, pp. 252-256, who mentions the note of Str. (8.3.21-22) that places the battle near Samikon in Triphylia. It is noteworthy that Hoekstra 1981, p. 65 includes Areïthoos the club-wielder

Outside of Homer, Lykourgos is called son of Aleos, king of Tegea, and grandfather of Agapenor (Apollod. 3.9.1; Paus. 8.4.8-5.2), but Pausanias (5.5.5) was told that his tomb had once existed at Lepreon.

Wilamowitz connected Lykourgos with Zeus Lykaïos, Lykaon, and Lykosoura, seeing in him an originally Arcadian hero.⁹⁷ Wilamowitz argued that this Lykourgos subsequently lent his name to the legendary Spartan lawgiver.⁹⁸ A connection with the cult of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion was accepted by both Marbach and West.⁹⁹ During historical times, we are told that the Arcadians celebrated a festival called the Moleia, in commemoration of Lykourgos' victory over Areithoos.¹⁰⁰ Jost has plausibly located this festival at Tegea, but the scholiast only says that it was performed *παρὰ Ἀρκάσιν*.¹⁰¹ Vidal-Naquet has associated the elements of Lykourgos' story – in particular the ambush and trickery – with initiatory rites.¹⁰²

Accordingly, we have in Lykourgos a hero who is connected with both southeastern and southwestern Arcadia. His name means 'he who wards off wolves,' which can be connected to the literary accounts of lycanthropy on Mt. Lykaion, of which we have several versions. According to one version of the story, Lykaon was

among those characters likely to derive from mainland, pre-migration (i.e., the movement of Greek speakers to Aeolis and Ionia during the Early Iron Age) epic. Similarly, Watkins 1995, p. 388 points out that the form of Lykourgos here, Λυκόοργος, resists contraction to Λυκοῦργος. It thereby preserves the pre-Homeric phonology.

⁹⁷ von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1884, pp. 284-285.

⁹⁸ Niese 1907, pp. 446-447 expresses doubts about this line of reasoning.

⁹⁹ *RE* XIII, 2, 1927, col. 2240, s.v. Lykurgos (2) (Marbach); West 1985, p. 155, n. 63.

¹⁰⁰ Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.164, where the scholiast mistakes Ereuthalion, Lykourgos' squire, for Areithoos.

¹⁰¹ Jost 1985, pp. 517-518. If she is correct, it is possible that the combat came to represent the secular warfare between Tegea and Mantinea. Areithoos is said to have come from a place called Arne, known in Boeotia during historical times. But we know from Pausanias (8.11.4) that the tomb of Areithoos was near Mantinea, where there was also a spring called Arne.

¹⁰² Vidal-Naquet 1983, pp. 151-174.

permanently turned into a wolf after sacrificing a baby (Paus. 8.2.3-7). Plato (*Resp.* 8.565d) says that someone is turned into a wolf after eating human entrails at the shrine of Lykaian Zeus. Demainetos (or Damarchos) the Parrhasian ate the organs of the boy (*pueri exta*) sacrificed in honor of Zeus Lykaios. He subsequently turned into a wolf, only to be restored to human form nine years later, just in time for an Olympic victory.¹⁰³ Similarly, Pausanias records the tradition that, after Lykaon's transformation, each sacrifice to Zeus Lykaios saw a man transformed into a wolf. If he abstained from human flesh when living as a wolf, he was returned to human form in the tenth year after his transformation, i.e., nine years later (Paus. 8.2.6).

An obscure author named Euanthes is credited with a similar story, although the details make it clear that it was not set on Mt. Lykaion.¹⁰⁴ An individual was chosen by lot from the Anthos family; he was brought to a pool, hung his clothes on an oak tree, and swam across. He then turned into a wolf and fraternized with wolves for nine years. If he abstained from human flesh, he returned to the pool, swam across, and put his clothes back on as a human, having aged nine years.

Burkert, Buxton, Hughes, and Bremmer argue that these stories are all related to a rite of initiation.¹⁰⁵ Young men, called 'wolves' by Burkert, were brought to a nocturnal sacrifice at the Ash Altar of Zeus Lykaios, where the sacrificial victims were cooked in a large tripod. Autosuggestion encouraged the idea that they were eating human flesh, and

¹⁰³ The story is reported by Pliny the Elder on the authority of Skopas; *BNJ* 413 F 1. Paus. 6.8.2 tells much the same story but calls the man Damarchos, whose inscribed statue he saw at Olympia.

¹⁰⁴ *BNJ* 320 F 1, with commentary (Jost and Roy).

¹⁰⁵ Burkert 1983, pp. 84-93, Buxton 1987, pp. 67-72, Hughes 1991, pp. 96-107, and Bremmer 2007, pp. 65-78. See Jost 2002, p. 183, n. 1 for a review of more scholarship that argues in the same vein.

when the sun rose they scattered off into the wilderness, to avoid human settlement for nine years. After their time in the wild, the wolves returned to the Lykaia and were admitted into the community as ‘sons of the bear’ (*Arkades*). According to this interpretation, one lived as a wolf from the ages of 16 to 25. After the foundation of Megalopolis, the rite was civilized by the removal of any notion of human sacrifice, and thus we get the story of Euanthes.

Jost has demonstrated how we cannot take it for granted that all of these stories refer to the same practice.¹⁰⁶ The tradition recorded by Euanthes says nothing about human sacrifice or cannibalism, but rather states that the rite was subjected to selection by lot. The story cannot be localized on Mt. Lykaion, where pools are scarce. Furthermore, there are discrepancies surrounding the age of the victim. In the myth of Lykaon, the sacrifice is called a βρέφος or ‘new-born’ (Paus. 8.2.3). Skopas’s story about Demainetos (digested through Pliny), however, speaks of a boy (*puer*). A new-born would be a strange symbol for a rite that commemorated a boy’s coming of age, and Jost therefore concludes that the interpretation of lycanthropy and human sacrifice on Mt. Lykaion as an initiation ritual is unsatisfactory. She considers the version where a boy was sacrificed to be isolated and suspect, and ultimately connects the persistence of the tradition with the harshness of the landscape, which could have encouraged such savage ideas. In the end, Jost leaves open the possibility that humans were sacrificed on Mt. Lykaion.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Jost 2002.

¹⁰⁷ Jost 2002, p. 186. Theophrastus in Porph. *Abst.* 2.27.2 speaks about human sacrifice at the Lykaia as if it were a reality in his own time.

What we have here, I suggest, is many years' worth of confusion about different kinds of Arcadian ceremonies. The story of Ereuthalion and Lykourgos fits the pattern of an initiatory ritual, on the model of a Cretan tradition described by Ephoros.¹⁰⁸ Cretan boys belonged to groups known as ἀγέλαι (herds), and the men belonged to communal dining associations known as ἀνδρεῖα. The herds participated in group activities meant to instill a sense of community and ensure the development of a warrior class. These activities included athletics, marching, military training, mock battles, hunting, and a war dance instituted by the Κουρήτες, a group of mythological beings who had protected Zeus from his father Kronos by shouting and beating their weapons together on Mt. Dikte.¹⁰⁹

Ephoros goes on to describe a custom peculiar to the Cretans in which an older male abducts a youth and takes him for his lover.¹¹⁰ The older male, known as the φιλήτωρ, informed the friends of the youth, known as the παρασταθείς, that he intended to abduct him. If the *philetor* was considered worthy, the friends put up a show of resistance but allowed the *parastatheis* to be abducted. The *philetor* then took the youth to his *andreion* and departed for a two month sojourn in the wilderness, where the couple feasted and hunted together. Upon their return to the city, the *philetor* presented his *parastatheis* with three gifts prescribed by law. These were a military tunic, an ox, and a drinking cup. The *parastatheis* now became a κλεινός, or 'famous one,' and he was entitled to wear special clothing and held the highest positions of honor at dances and

¹⁰⁸ *BNJ* 70 F 149.

¹⁰⁹ Some scholars believe that this was the name of initiated members of a special order in Cretan society; Harrison 1927, pp. 16-29.

¹¹⁰ Koehl 1986.

races.

Compare Lykourgos and Ereuthalion. The latter is called the φίλοι θεράποντι of the former, and Nestor tells us that when Lykourgos grew old in his halls (ἐπεὶ Λυκόοργος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐγήρα) he gave Ereuthalion the arms (τεύχεα) he had stripped off Areithoos. Ereuthalion is subsequently sent out to war with the Pylians, led by the youthful Nestor. At least some Arcadians in historical times commemorated Lykourgos with military rites of initiation, and a new inscription dated to around 500 B.C. sheds even more light on local military rituals.

The text in question is highly obscure and was unfortunately discovered by looters, with the result that its provenance is unknown. I suggest in Appendix I that it came from Heraia. It certainly does not come from Lykaion, as Heinrichs suggests.¹¹¹ In any event, it documents a ritual called the *Peroplodmia*, which took place every ninth year. I cite in full the lines that concern us here:

6 ---]άται κόρφῶν ἐνφότοι φέτει ἐξ ἀγέλ[ι] ἀσπίδα ἀκόντιον φοινικίς ξίφος κ-
---]atai of the young men, in the ninth year, from the herd, shield, javelin, red
cloak, sword, k-

8 --- Ζα]πατέαι ὄφιν ὄρενα ἐνφότοι φέτει τῷ Περοπλοδμία
--- the Za]pateai, a ram, in the ninth year, in which occurs Peroplodmia

10 --- ὄφιν] ὄρενα ἐνφότοι φέτει ὅτε Περοπλοδμία
--- a ra]m in the ninth year, when occurs Peroplodmia.

While the text is admittedly fragmentary, enough is preserved for us to reconstruct a ceremony called the *Peroplodmia* at which youths (κόρφῶν) from the herd

¹¹¹ Heinrichs 2015.

(ἐξ ἀγέλ[ι]) were presented with arms and armor (ἀσπίδα, ἀκόντιον, φοινικίς, ξίφος). This ceremony took place every ninth year, very close to the tradition found at Mt. Lykaion and in the story of Euanthes. The festival was most likely held under the auspices of Zeus Hoplosmios, known to have been worshipped in Arcadia.¹¹²

Accordingly, we have the following data to consider:

- An archaic character named Lykourgos, ‘he who wards off the wolves,’ involved in what seems to be a mythological template for arming the next generation and sending them off to war. In historical times he was honored by the Arcadians at a festival that has been interpreted as a rite of passage.
- Stories of young Arcadian men turned into wolves and driven out into the wilderness for nine years, an act with which a hero named Lykourgos could be easily associated.
- Inscriptional evidence for a ceremony at which youths were given arms every ninth year, probably under the auspices of Zeus Hoplosmios and possibly associated with the mythological figure Hoplodamos, whom the Methydrians said protected Rhea before Zeus’ birth in Arcadia (Paus. 8.36.2-3). Both figures could thus lead to confusion with Mt. Lykaion.
- Mt. Lykaion, where Zeus was born and where a king named Lykaon committed the most beastly act of all, human sacrifice accompanied by a cannibalistic feast.

We can understand how all of this *Arkadika* could have been confused, and it is most probable that material originally belonging to one place got ascribed to other

¹¹² Jost 1985, pp. 277-278. There was also a tribe called Hoplodmia at Mantinea; *IG* V, 2.271.

locations. For instance, there was a tradition that Arcadians fighting in the Messenian Wars carried wolfskins and bearskins,¹¹³ and it is possible that the military ritual described above had something to do with Lykourgos and young warriors characterized as wolves. Since much of the action in these wars occurred in northeastern Messenia just across from Mt. Lykaion, it would be understandable if soldiers and mercenaries from outside of Arcadia combined all of this into a story about men who become wolves on ‘Wolf Mountain.’

Another unexplored possibility lies in the rituals of Lykosoura, which included dances performed by worshippers wearing animal masks. The evidence for this practice lies first of all in certain terracotta figurines from the sanctuary of Despoina. These figurines have the heads of bulls and rams, and they wear cloaks and carry baskets on their heads. Jost has suggested that initiates dedicated these objects after their participation in the mysteries.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the peplos of Despoina carved by Damophon includes masked figures playing music and dancing.¹¹⁵ These include a fox (possibly) playing the double *aulos*, a horse on the *trigonon*, an equid on the *kithara*, and a second horse with a double *aulos*. The dancers include two pigs, three rams, and a donkey. All the animals are dressed in human clothing, and their limbs are covered or extended with animal feet.¹¹⁶ The figures are thus humans in costume, and due to the whirling movements of these dancers, Jost has suggested an orgiastic context, which was presumably another component of the rite. The rite included what is considered to be a

¹¹³ Paus. 4.11.3; cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 4.303-304; Bremmer 2007, p. 71.

¹¹⁴ Jost 1985, p. 332.

¹¹⁵ Jost 1985, pp. 332-333.

¹¹⁶ Jost 2007, p. 268.

very primitive form of sacrifice, in which the participants did not cut the animals' throats, but instead grabbed whatever limbs they could get hold of and chopped them off (Paus. 8.37.8).

It has even been suggested that one of the figures dancing on Despoina's peplos is a wolf.¹¹⁷ Now, it is certain that during historical times people who administered the ceremonies at Lykosoura were also present for those on Mt. Lykaion, for its inhabitants were part of the Parrhasian tribe. It is thus plausible to think that the practice at one site influenced ritual at the other. That is, theriomorphism at Lykosoura – combined with the fact that *LYK*- 'light,' which could easily be confused with *λύκος* 'wolf,' was present in both toponyms and in the mythical figure who linked them (i.e., Lykaon) – could have helped to bring about the idea that lycanthropy took place on Mt. Lykaion.

In sum, all of the elements that we find associated with Mt. Lykaion in later times were already present in Arcadia by the Archaic period at latest. Stories became confused and blended together, and, once created, it was possible for the Arcadians themselves to accept them. Animal-like ferocity would go well with their reputation for warfare, and other rituals in Arcadia already featured theriomorphism. In any case, all of this is of interest for the Homeric story of Lykourgos and Ereuthalion because it implies that there were local myths that chartered some of this activity. These local myths were well enough known to find their way into the epic tradition, and we can surmise that this occurred largely through the agency of traveling bards, traders, and soldiers, who occasionally came into direct contact with these practices. If, as other scholars have

¹¹⁷ Dickins and Kourouniotis 1906-1907, p. 394.

argued, Lykourgos is connected with Mt. Lykaion, then we may have here a Parrhasian myth that Homer worked up into Nestor's youthful triumph. The topography associated with the story, which has Arcadians invading down the Alpheios valley, certainly points towards the western part of the region.

c. Divine Myth in the Catalogue of Ships

Visser has argued that the Catalogue of Ships is largely structured by myth.

Locations where important myths occurred found a spot in their region's list, and this means that the toponyms in the Arcadian contingent imply awareness of local mythology

(*Il.* 2.603-614):

οἳ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ,
Αἰπύτιον παρὰ τύμβον, ἦν' ἄνδρες ἀγχιμαχηταί,
οἳ Φενεόν τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὀρχομενὸν πολύμηλον
Ῥίπην τε Στρατίνην τε καὶ ἠνεμόεσσαν Ἐνίσπην,
καὶ Τεγέην εἶχον καὶ Μαντινέην ἐρατεινήν,
Στύμφηλόν τ' εἶχον καὶ Παρρασίην ἐνέμοντο,
τῶν ἥρχ' Ἀγκαίοιο πάις, κρείων Ἀγαπήνωρ.
ἔξήκοντα νεῶν πολέες δ' ἐν νηὶ ἐκάστη
Ἀρκάδες ἄνδρες ἔβαινον, ἐπιστάμενοι πολεμίζειν.
αὐτὸς γάρ σφιν δῶκεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων
νῆας ἐυσσέλμους περάαν ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον
Ἀτρεΐδης, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφι θαλάσσια ἔργα μεμήλει.

And those who held Arcadia under the high mountain of Kyllene, nearby the tomb of Aipytos, where men fight hand to hand. There were those who held sway over Pheneos and Orchomenos, rich in flocks, and Rhipe, Stratie, and windy Enispe. And they that held Tegea and lovely Mantinea; and those who held Stymphalos and dwelt in Parrhasia. Of these the leader was the child of Ankaios, lord Agapenor. There were 60 ships, and many were the Arcadians who embarked in each – men who knew how to fight. For the lord of men Agamemnon himself, the son of Atreus, gave them the well-benched ships to cross the wine-dark sea, since they took no part in the works of the seafarer.

Visser suggests that the localization of Hermes' birth on Mt. Kyllene is the reason for its appearance in the first line.¹¹⁸ Similarly, the tomb of Aipyros refers to a lesser known, more parochial story, but still one that could have been recognized by listeners.¹¹⁹ Pheneos is the first town to be mentioned due to its importance in the Herakles myth, for the hero staged his campaign against Augeas of Elis from here; the presence of the river Styx nearby may also be important for Pheneos. Orchomenos, a place not well known in myth, is included primarily for its geographical location south of Kyllene. Visser hypothesizes that Stratie, Enispe, and Rhipse are likewise mentioned as geographical reference points, with Stratie 'the Camp' perhaps signifying the western border with Eleia. Tegea was significant in many myths, such as that of Auge and Telephos, and was furthermore sometimes considered the capital of Arcadia. Mantinea, on the other hand, is another geographical marker. Stymphalos was very important in myth as the location of Herakles' sixth Labor against the Stymphalian Birds. Parrhasia, while most likely referring to the greater region, could conceivably also refer to a particular place, as Stephanus (s.v.) and Pliny the Elder (4.6.20) speak of a town with this name,¹²⁰ and Leake conjectured that Homer's Parrhasia was identical with Lykosoura.¹²¹

Whatever the case, Visser noticed that Παρρασία is a so-called "determinant," namely, a metrical necessity also required by content. For Visser, the jump from eastern Stymphalos down to Parrhasia in the southwest was a conscious choice to return to this

¹¹⁸ For the arguments in this paragraph and the next, see Visser 1997, pp. 537-547.

¹¹⁹ Hoekstra 1981, p. 65 considers the phrase Αἰπύριον παρὰ τύμβον, ἔν' ἄνδρες ἀγχιμαχηταί to be indicative of a pre-migratory, ancient tradition of the mainland.

¹²⁰ For further references to the town Parrhasia, see *RE Suppl.* XI, 1967, col. 1033, s.v. Parrhasia (Meyer).

¹²¹ Leake 1968, p. 321. Visser 1997, p. 547 suggests that the presence of two founders (Parrhasios and Pelasgos) in the tradition could support the idea of a region (Parrhasios) and a town (Pelasgos).

part of the region. It also connects the previous (Nestor) and subsequent (Epeians) contingents.

As we have seen, the recent archaeological discoveries from the altar of Zeus Lykaios prove that the place was a religious sanctuary prior to the traditional date of the Trojan War. It was certainly one also in the time of Homer. Moreover, let us recall that Mt. Lykaion and the geographical term Parrhasia are closely linked, for, as Callimachus says, ἐν δέ σε Παρρασίη Ῥεΐη τέκεν (*Jov.* 1.10). In Pindar's ninth *Olympian*, the festival of Zeus Lykaios is said to belong to the Parrhasian people. Euripides, when foretelling Orestes' sojourn in Arcadia, says in the *Electra* (1274) that he must found a settlement near the sanctuary of Lykaion, while in *Orestes* (1645) it is predicted that the hero will dwell on Parrhasian soil. Clearly one term is used interchangeably with the other, a point that has led one commentator to read Parrhasia as a metonym for the sacred mountain.¹²²

Visser surmises that the large number of ships and troops allotted to the Arcadians is related to the region's important role in myths that were set in earlier times. For Visser, Arcadia is more significant as the setting of pre-Trojan War stories – such as the births of gods – than for its role in the story of the *Iliad*.¹²³ If this is the case, and if the mention of Kyllene is aimed at making the audience think of the birth of Hermes, how much more appropriate would it be if Parrhasia is meant to make reference to the birth of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion? In this way, we uncover a ring of composition according to which Arcadia – the land where gods are born – is defined on either end by the mountainous birthplaces of

¹²² Willink 1986, p. 345.

¹²³ Visser 1997, pp. 552-554. We should note that Arcadian sanctuaries in particular claimed a number of divine births, including Hermes at Kyllene, Athena at Alipheira, and Pan, either at Lykaion or on Kyllene.

Hermes and Zeus, the former sometimes the father of Pan – the Arcadian god *par excellence* – and the latter the father of Pelasgos, Pan, and Arkas, who, as we shall see, is at home on both Lykaion and Kyllene. Interestingly, stories recorded by later authors link the character of Lykaon and Kyllene; in one account, the nymph of this name is his wife, while in another Lykaon is the founder of the sanctuary of Hermes on Mt. Kyllene.¹²⁴

Thus, Parrhasia is included in the Catalogue both for its geographical position in the southwest and its important role in early Greek mythology. As we saw in the case of Lykourgos and Ereuthalion, the Catalogue implies knowledge of a local myth, in this case that of Zeus' birth.

IV: Hesiod

We find much the same situation in Hesiod. First, however, a bit of background on the variety of myths that recorded Zeus' birth.¹²⁵

Many ancient sources subscribe to the Cretan myth, and they are followed by most of their modern successors. Scholarly support for the priority of the Cretan tradition is either implicitly or explicitly based on the Bronze Age pedigree of Minoan sacred caves, particularly those at Psychro¹²⁶ and on Mt. Ida,¹²⁷ the latter of which became a site

¹²⁴ See below, Chapter 3, II, b.

¹²⁵ Pausanias said that one could not count all the places that claimed to be the birthplace of Zeus (4.33.1).

¹²⁶ For the archaeology of Psychro, see Watrous 1996 and Prent 2005, pp. 167-170, 339-342. The cave was used for habitation or burial from the Final Neolithic-Early Minoan, and the earliest cult deposits date to Middle Minoan I-II. There is evidence for activity in Late Minoan IIIC-Subminoan and the Early Iron Age, and many offerings of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. have been recovered. These last mark the cave's second florescence (the first being Middle Minoan I/II-Late Minoan I).

¹²⁷ For the archaeology of the Idaian Cave, see Sakellarakis 1983, 1984, and 1988 and Prent 2005, pp. 158-160, 314-318. As with Psychro, during the Late Neolithic and Early Minoan periods the cave was used for habitation, and cult begins in Middle Minoan III or Late Minoan I, continuing without break into late Roman times (fifth century A.D.).

of Zeus worship in historical times. By comparison, Kourouniotis' seventh century B.C. date for the sanctuary at Lykaion seemed too late to have affected the development of early Greek myth, but this line of reasoning can now be set aside once and for all.

The Cretan myth is usually localized on Mt. Dikte and Mt. Ida, although, as will be discussed further below, Hesiod places Zeus' birth at Lyktos.¹²⁸ Fearing Kronos, Rhea asked Gaia and Ouranos what to do in order to prevent her husband from swallowing another child. They sent her to Crete, where she gave birth to Zeus on Mt. Dikte or Mt. Ida. In other versions the infant god is brought to a cave on Mt. Ida for safekeeping. We hear of a large number of nurses, including an eagle, doves,¹²⁹ bees, a sow, a cow, a bitch, Amaltheia (a goat or a nymph), Melissa (a nymph), Kynosoura (a nymph later changed into Ursa Minor), Helike (a nymph who becomes Ursa Major, as does Kallisto in Arcadian tradition), the Geraistiades (nymphs), Adrasteia (a nymph), Ida (a nymph), and Diktyнна (a goddess).¹³⁰ On Ida the Kouretes drowned out the cries of Zeus with their war dance.¹³¹ Certain elements, including the animal nurses and a variant from Hyginus

¹²⁸ There are many ancient sources and modern studies on Zeus Kretagenes. For Zeus' birth in the Diktaian Cave, see Apollod. 1.1.6; on Mt. Dikte, see D.S. 5.70.6 and Agathokles of Cyzicus (the Babylonian) *BNJ* 472 F 1a-b; on Mt. Ida, see Call. *Jov.* 1.6, D.S. 5.70.2-4; for the view that he was reared on Ida, see Ap. Rhod. 2.1231-1235, 3.134. Modern works I have consulted include Cook 1925, pp. 925-939 on Aigaion, Dikte, and Ida; Nilsson 1950, pp. 533-550; Kerényi 1958, pp. 81-84; West 1966, pp. 291-293; Verbruggen 1981, pp. 27-49, whom the reader may consult for a fuller list of the ancient sources documenting the myth.

¹²⁹ These are connected with ancient Aegean (i.e., non-Olympian) myth by Verbruggen 1981, p. 41.

¹³⁰ Cf. the relevant remarks of Verbruggen on the bear myths (1981), p. 43, n. 92: "Le mythe est peut-être né dans le Péloponnèse: on ne trouve aucune trace d'ours dans la faune crétoise." The cow, bitch, and Diktyнна are known only from Cretan coins. Verbruggen thinks that the theriotrophy of Zeus is original, the nymphs having gradually replaced their animal counterparts.

¹³¹ They are not found only on Ida, however, for we see them at Hierapetra, Lato, Biannos, Rhytion, Priansos, Knossos, Gortyn, and Eleutherna; Verbruggen 1981, p. 46.

(139) where Amaltheia hangs Zeus' cradle from a tree branch, seem to derive from Minoan religious beliefs.¹³²

The Arcadian tradition is found in Pausanias.¹³³ We have a local story of Methydrion (8.36.2-3) in which Rhea comes to Mt. Thaumasion to enlist the help of Hoplodamos and his giants against Kronos. Although she gave birth to Zeus on Lykaion, the stone was given to Kronos on Thaumasion, upon whose peak was a cave of Rhea where only women sacred to the goddess could enter. The periegete also preserves the official Arcadian account (8.38.2-3): Zeus was born on Mt. Lykaion at a place called Kretea, which the Arcadians told Pausanias was the Crete mentioned in Greek legends. He was nursed by the nymphs Neda, Thisoa, and Hagno, all of which were names associated with local water sources.¹³⁴ We can add Rhea to the official account, as Callimachus tells how the Arcadians commemorated 'Ρείης ὠγύγιον ... λεχώιον "Rhea's primordial childbed."¹³⁵ Other stories include that of Phigaleia (Paus. 8.41.2), whose people claimed that Zeus was washed in the local river Lymax (a tributary of the Neda), while another Arcadian tradition said the same of the Lousios (Paus. 8.28.2). Finally, the *Etymologicum Magnum* says that Zeus was swaddled at the otherwise unknown place in Arcadia called Geraistion.¹³⁶

¹³² Minoan art includes depictions of men and women hanging on trees, probably in order to summon a deity; Younger and Rehak 2008, pp. 159, 167, with pl. 6.1. In this connection, it is interesting that Theophrastus (*HP* 3.3.4) notes that dedications at the Idaian Cave were hung up on trees; see Sakellarakis 1988, p. 211.

¹³³ Jost 1985, pp. 242-249.

¹³⁴ A table in Megalopolis and an altar in Tegea add other nymphs (Paus. 8.31.4, 47.3): Anthrakia, Anchirhoe, Myrtoessa, Oinoe, Glauke, Ida, Alkinoe, and Phrixa.

¹³⁵ Jost 1985, p. 246, n. 1. It is interesting that the birth of Athena at Alipheira was dressed up with similar elements: there was an altar of Zeus Λεχεάτης 'of the child bed,' and Athena's epithet Tritogeneia was associated with a stream called Tritonis (Paus. 8.26.6).

¹³⁶ *Et. Mag.*, s.v. Γεραίστιον.

Jost has argued that the Methydrion and Lykaion stories were originally distinct, the link being made only after political unification in 371/0 B.C. The cultic prescriptions concerning Rhea's cave and the figure of Hoplodamos, however, point to an earlier origin for parts of the Methydrion myth.¹³⁷ There seems to be a preoccupation with water in the Arcadian birth, something congruent with the importance of the Hagno Fountain in cult practice on Mt. Lykaion (Paus. 8.38.4) and of interest for *ne-da-wa-ta/ne-da-wa-ta-o*, the Pylian man named after the Neda (PY An 657, Jo 438). The name would have been **Nedwatas* in the nominative and, as is argued more extensively in Chapter 2 (IV), is likely derived from the nymph, whose status as a divine nurse could therefore be exceptionally ancient. The importance of water also matches the Greek etymology of Parrhasia proposed by Dubois, who took the name back to $\pi\alpha\nu-$ + $*-\varphi\rho\alpha\tau-$ (< $\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ 'sprinkle'). The result would be 'the all-sprinkled land.'¹³⁸

Callimachus' account weds the Arcadian and Cretan traditions (*Jov.* 1.10-54).¹³⁹ Rhea gave birth to Zeus on a hill covered in brush, and, finding no water sources, she asks Gaia for help, strikes the earth, and brings forth a river. She named it after Neda, for it was this nymph, the oldest after Styx and Philyra, whom she entrusted with carrying the infant to Crete. In Crete Zeus was handed over to the Ash-Tree Nymphs (Meliai) of Dikte, the companions of the Korybantes, and nursed by the she-goat Amaltheia. On Ida

¹³⁷ Jost 1985, pp. 243-245.

¹³⁸ Dubois 1986, vol. 1, pp. 134-135. Immerwahr 1891, pp. 217-218, 238, 240 stressed the fact that the cult of nymphs in Arcadia is particularly bound to the Lykaion region. He also connected the cult of Rhea (for him, the goddess of flowing water) and the birth of Zeus with the nymph traditions, which again is of interest for Pylian **Nedwatas*. For Immerwahr, the Neda was "[b]esonders altertümlich" and the female water cults predated the birth myth.

¹³⁹ Jost 1985, p. 242. For a new commentary on the *Hymn to Zeus*, see Stephens 2015, pp. 47-71.

the Kouretes drowned out the infant's cries, and bees produced honeycomb for his sustenance.

a. Using Callimachus as a Source for Myth

Because Callimachus is our oldest source to give a full narration of the Arcadian birth myth, it is worth taking the time to assess how we can best utilize his work for our purposes. We cannot lose sight of the fact that the *Hymn to Zeus* was written for the occasion of Ptolemy Philadelphus' accession to the co-regency with Ptolemy Soter in 285/4 B.C.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, as a native of Cyrene in Libya, Callimachus' preference for the Lykaion birth may have been connected with the fact that an extra-urban sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios had been a feature of this city from Archaic times (Hdt. 4.203). It has even been suggested that the blending of the Arcadian and Cretan myths was a nod to one of Cyrene's *phylai*, the Peloponnesian-Cretan.¹⁴¹

As a philosopher-poet, it was important for Callimachus to engage with his predecessors while at the same time adding something of his own to the myth. Scholars stress the sophistication of Callimachus' poetics, noting that the phrase ἐνδοῖτι μάλα θυμός alludes to the *Hymn to Eros* by Antagoras of Rhodes (fr. 1 Powell), where the poet asks Eros if he is the first of the immortals, born of Erebus and Night as Hesiod relates, or the son of Aphrodite, or of Gaia, or of the Winds. As Cuypers and Fantuzzi have shown, in this way Callimachus engages with contemporary Stoic and Academic cosmological

¹⁴⁰ Clauss 1986; Barbantani 2011, pp. 182-184; Stephens 2015, p. 51.

¹⁴¹ Stephens 2015, p. 48, citing E. Maass, "Kallimachos und Kyrene," *Hermes* 25 (1890): pp. 401-402.

and ontological debates.¹⁴² He also interacts with Hesiod in this same line, when he remarks ἐπεὶ γένος ἀμφήριστον. The last word reflects the discourse on the two Strifes (Επίδων) found in *Works and Days*.¹⁴³ Cuypers goes so far as to declare that “while on the surface level of the text Callimachus the narrator embarks upon a mythological discussion about the birth-place of Zeus, Callimachus the author allusively introduces theological, cosmological, and ontological – in short, philosophical – questions that make the narrator’s strictly mythological frame of reference appear rather naïve.”¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, while at first glance it seems that Callimachus favors the Arcadian story in noting that Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, we have to take into account that this is a quotation from the Archaic philosopher-poet Epimenides, himself a Cretan who is said to have slept for 57 years in the Idaian Cave.¹⁴⁵ The fact that all Cretans are liars means that Epimenides, the source for this quotation, may himself have been lying!¹⁴⁶

Callimachus is in fact using the traditional myths of Crete and Arcadia as a backdrop to discuss the essence of Zeus.¹⁴⁷ By setting up a series of paradoxes, the poet problematizes the Stoic, Academic Skeptic, and Euhemeran interpretations of the god: if Zeus is eternal (ἔσσι γὰρ ἀεὶ), then, following Plato’s arguments, he can never have been born in the first place. If Zeus were a man, as Euhemerus argued, then he could in fact have a tomb. In the end, if we cannot get to the truth, we do best to follow the Skeptics

¹⁴² Cuypers 2004, pp. 96-102; Fantuzzi 2011, p. 441-443.

¹⁴³ *Op.* 11-13; Reinsch-Werner 1976, pp. 24-73; Cuypers 2004, pp. 97-98. See Cusset 2011, pp. 457-465 for other Hesiodic intertexts in the *Hymn to Zeus*. Cuypers suggests (p. 459) that “even if Arcadia is not the birthplace of Zeus according to Hesiod, Callimachus strives to give a Hesiodic patina to this land.”

¹⁴⁴ Cuypers 2004, p. 97.

¹⁴⁵ *BNJ* 457 T 1, with commentary (Toye).

¹⁴⁶ Cuypers 2004, p. 104: “Zeus, who may or [may] not be the voice warning the Callimachean narrator that Cretans are not to be trusted, may or may not be a Cretan.”

¹⁴⁷ Cuypers 2004, pp. 102-105, 113-114.

and make our argument εὐλογον. As Callimachus himself says when he professes his desire to tell lies that will persuade his listeners (65: ψευδοίμην αἰόντος ἃ κεν πεπίθοιεν ἀκουήν).

Accordingly, using Callimachus' *Hymns* as a source for myth requires care. But we must also take into account certain positive considerations about Callimachus' access to ancient traditions.¹⁴⁸ In the first place, in order to display his sophistication, he had to demonstrate mastery of arcana, in this case material deriving from Crete and Arcadia. Callimachus is said to have authored over 800 books, among which were the four books of the *Aitia*, preserved only in fragments.¹⁴⁹ This work was concerned with origins of Greek cults, festivals, cities, and other such institutions. Callimachus also authored prose investigations on, among other subjects, nymphs, *agones*, foundations of cities and islands, winds, rivers, and marvels. His work contributed to the foundation of lexicography and paradoxography. His position at the Museum and Library in Alexandria, whose holdings Callimachus catalogued in his *Pinakes*, would have afforded him with ample resources to pursue all this research. The number of scrolls in the Library eventually grew to nearly 500,000, most of which featured texts that have been lost.¹⁵⁰ We can thus be confident that Callimachus had access to literature that recorded local traditions, such as those with which we are concerned. There is no reason to assume that

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Cuypers 2004, pp. 102-103 on the difference between the traditional, Homeric poet inspired by the Muses and the *poeta doctus* of the Hellenistic period, who "is constantly faced with the necessity to choose between many different versions, options, and paradigms." As I suggested earlier, I think much the same thing was going on in Archaic times.

¹⁴⁹ The summary of Callimachus' output in this paragraph is drawn from *OCD*³, 2003, pp. 276-277, s.v. Callimachus (Parsons).

¹⁵⁰ *OCD*³, 2003, pp. 854-855, s.v. libraries (Parsons).

the mythological materials he utilized in constructing his philosophical poetry were not grounded in recognizable traditions that go back to epichoric sources.

b. Hesiod's Birth of Zeus

In any event, the Cretan and Arcadian stories share certain significant similarities: the wandering or flight of Rhea, the mountainous birth and importance of caves, and the nursing of Zeus. The differences include Arcadia's emphasis on water sources, which the Cretan myth lacks, and the original theriotrophic context in Crete, which later seems to have been influenced by the Arcadian tradition of nymphs.¹⁵¹ Finally, the Kouretes do not seem to have been a part of the mainstream Arcadian stories, unless we see Hoplodamos as a sort of analogue.

Returning now to our earliest source, it is striking that Hesiod (*Th.* 453-491) records Lyktos as Rhea's destination. Lyktos was a city located on Mt. Aigaion, the latter Hesiod's site for the cave where Zeus was deposited. Now, the obvious thing to note is that Lyktos and Lykaion both begin with *LYK-*, our first indication that the two traditions may have been conflated. Also significant is the duplicate telling of Rhea's ordeal (477-486):

Πέμψαν δ' ἐς Λύκτον, Κρήτης ἐς πίονα δῆμον,
ὅππότε' ἄρ' ὀπλότατον παίδων ἤμελλε τεκέσθαι,
Ζῆνα μέγαν· τὸν μὲν οἱ ἐδέξατο Γαῖα πελώρη
Κρήτηι ἐν εὐρείῃ τρεφέμεν ἀτιταλλέμεναί τε.

ἔνθα μιν ἵκτο φέρουσα θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν,

¹⁵¹ Marinatos 1962, coll. 915-916 suggested that a triad of female divinities on a relief from Gortyn in Crete were derived, along with the name of the city, from Arcadian tradition, and that they are the Geraistiades, corresponding to Arcadian Geraistion.

πρώτην ἐς Λύκτον· κρύψεν δέ ἐ χειρσὶ λαβοῦσα
ἄντρῳ ἐν ἡλιβάτῳ, ζαθέης ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης,
Αἰγαίῳ ἐν ὄρει πεπυκασμένῳ ὑλήεντι.
Τῷ δὲ σπαργανίσασα μεγαν λίθον ἐγγυάλιξεν
Οὐρανίδῃ μέγ' ἄνακτι, θεῶν προτέρων βασιλῇ.

When she [Rhea] was about to give birth to the youngest of her children, great Zeus, [Gaia and Ouranos] sent her to Lyktos, to the fertile district of Crete, and in broad Crete did enormous Gaia receive him, to nurse and to raise.

There she came bearing him through the swift, black night, first of all to Lyktos. And taking him in her arms she hid him in a high cave in the depths of the sacred earth, on Mt. Aigaion, which is covered with woods. And, wrapping a great stone in swaddling clothes, she put this into the arms of the son of Ouranos, the mighty lord and king of earlier gods.

Note the uncertainty over 1) the chronology and 2) the location of Zeus' birth. On

the one hand, πέμψαν δ' ἐς Λύκτον, Κρήτης ἐς πίονα δήμον, / ὁππότε ἄρ' ὀπλότατον
παίδων ἤμελλε τεκέσθαι could indicate that Rhea gave birth to Zeus *after* being sent to
Lyktos. Subsequently, Gaia receives the child on Crete. However, the doublet ἔνθα μιν
ἵκτο φέρουσα θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν, / πρώτην ἐς Λύκτον has puzzled scholars. Who
is the subject of the verbs ἵκτο, κρύψεν, and ἐγγυάλιξεν? Some translators assume it to be
Gaia,¹⁵² but, as other scholars have pointed out, Kronos should have suspected a plot if
Gaia – not his wife – brought him the stone. Thus, the subject is more likely to be Rhea,
the child's mother and the focus of the narrative.¹⁵³ Still, we had already reached Lyktos
in line 486, so why is there need for anyone to go back? West suggested that the first

¹⁵² E.g., Lattimore 1959 has "[t]here Earth arrived through the running black night ..."

¹⁵³ Faure 1964, p. 94; West 1966, p. 299; Fontenrose 1966, p. 32, n. 13. Note that in both the Arcadian version (Paus. 8.36.2-3) and Apollod. 1.1.7 Rhea deceives Kronos. Likewise, on the temple of Hera Teleia in Plataia, Rhea was depicted in the act of giving Kronos the stone (Paus. 9.2.5-7), and the Boeotians told Pausanias (9.41.3) that this event happened at Petrachos. At 8.8.2 Pausanias has a similar story about Poseidon, in which Rhea tells Kronos that she gave birth to a foal rather than the infant sea god (additionally, this passage explicitly states that Rhea gave the stone to Kronos). See also Ov. *Fast.* 4.203-205; Hyg. *Fab.* 139; Serv. *A.* 3.104; Lactantius Placidus on Stat. *Theb.* 4.784; *Myth. Vat.* Mythographer I 104, Mythographer II 16.

citation of Lyktos (πέμψαν δ' ἐς Λύκτον ... ἀπιταλλέμεναί τε) concerns the arrangement of Rhea's escape to Crete, while the second instance and details about the stone describe how it all played out. If West is correct, then it is not clear that Hesiod reported Zeus' birth on Crete; the only certain fact would be Rhea's carrying him to Lyktos and Aigaion afterwards.¹⁵⁴ In West's words, "Hesiod is curiously non-committal about where the birth actually occurred."¹⁵⁵

Something more may be going on. First of all, note πρώτην ἐς Λύκτον in the second reference to Lyktos. The emphasis on priority may reflect a situation similar to the one illustrated centuries later by Callimachus. In the same way, the second citation of Lyktos incorporates an element from the account of Callimachus, where Zeus is born elsewhere and subsequently brought to Crete. The confusion over the subject of this section is intriguing, for remember that in Callimachus it is neither Rhea nor Gaia, but rather Neda who carries the baby to the island.

In fact, even before the discovery of prehistoric remains on Mt. Lykaion, some scholars argued for the priority of the Arcadian birth story. Marinatos suggested that the birth and education of Zeus should be associated with the Indo-European sky god rather

¹⁵⁴ This reading is opposed by the analysis of Nilsson 1950, p. 535, with n. 5, who remarks, "It appears, however, that there is no old tradition pointing out any definite place where Zeus was born; it is only said that Zeus was born in Crete, and this fact, that the legend is not attached to a certain spot, is in the best accordance with the nature of the myth ... The localization of the birth story outside Crete is later and originates in an intention to vie with the famous Cretan myth." Cf. also his earlier statement at p. 460: "The localization of the myth in Hesiod to the cave of Lyktos, must, however, be a reminiscence of the Minoan cult, since the caves situated in its neighbourhood were abandoned in the Greek age." Similarly, West argues that "[t]he original version is obviously that in which he was born in the cave, not the Hesiodic version in which he was brought from overseas to escape an anxiously gobbling Kronos." Indeed, the overseas transfer hints at the amalgamation of a mainland (i.e., Peloponnesian) myth with a Minoan tradition. On the Near Eastern parallels for Hesiod's Succession myth, see Puhvel 1987, pp. 21-32.

¹⁵⁵ West 1966, p. 299.

than an anonymous Minoan deity.¹⁵⁶ Adducing the archaic features of the Lykaion cult and Arcado-Triphylian historical toponymy, including the place names Κρητέα, Κρήσιον ὄρος, and Κρήσιος κολωνός, he argued for the primacy of Zeus Lykaios. Marinatos linked these toponyms with Pylian *ke-re-si-jo we-ke* /*kresiowerges*/ ('of Cretan workmanship,' PY Ta 641, 709; cf. also *ke-re-te* /*Kretes*/ 'Cretans' on PY An 128), preferring to see the latter as referring to a Peloponnesian naming convention rather than the island of Crete. In any event, sometime around 1500 B.C. migrants from the Peloponnese who spoke an Achaeian dialect¹⁵⁷ arrived on the island, bringing not only Zeus but also the very name of Crete.¹⁵⁸ Subsequent to the migration, the name and birth myth were attached to many different places, so many that eventually the whole island was called Crete.¹⁵⁹ The cult of Zeus Thenatas near Amnisos, where an altar was fronted by two stone eagles, likewise derives from the Lykaion cult.¹⁶⁰ Finally, the tradition of nymph-nurses is also Arcadian, with the Geraistiades corresponding to Arcadian Geraistion.¹⁶¹ Other toponymic correspondences between Crete and southwestern Arcadia include Kydonia/Kydonasion (*SEG* 25 449), Arcadia/Arkades, the latter a city near Lyktos and perhaps on Mt. Aigaion, and Gortys/Gortyn.

¹⁵⁶ Marinatos 1962.

¹⁵⁷ As Marinatos notes, Central Cretan – including the language of Knossos and Gortyn – has traces of "Arcadian" or "Palaeoachaeian" dialect.

¹⁵⁸ In Near Eastern and Egyptian sources, Crete is called Kaptara, Kaphtor, or Keftiu.

¹⁵⁹ For Marinatos, this explains the Homeric plural Κρητῶν εὐρείων 'broad Cretes.'

¹⁶⁰ Chaniotis 1992 comes to similar conclusions about the cult of Zeus Thenatas.

¹⁶¹ Some of these traditions may go back to the Late Bronze Age, for we know the of Pylian toponym *ke-ra-ti-jo-jo-wo-wo* /*Geraistioio worwos*/ 'the boundaries of Geraistios/Geraistion' and *ko-tu-we* /*Gortuwei*/; see Chapter 2, I, b.

Building on Marinatos' work, Faure also argued that migrants from the Peloponnese brought the worship of Zeus to Crete.¹⁶² Along with Zeus came initiation rituals linked to the worship of the Indo-European sky god.¹⁶³ In the same vein, we see offerings made to Diktaian Zeus already in Linear B (KN Fp 1: *ḏi-ka-ta-jo / ḏi-we*), and a recent study of the Linear A material suggests that Diktaian Zeus was preceded by a Minoan 'Diktaian Master' (*di-ki-te-te-du-pu₂-re* on PK Za 8, 11, 12, and 15), which would strongly support the idea that Zeus was superimposed upon or conflated with a pre-Greek Cretan divinity.¹⁶⁴

This idea can be supported by further considerations. Perlman has suggested that during the Early Iron Age Arcadian migrants participated in the settlement of Cretan poleis.¹⁶⁵ Arcadians can be identified at early Gortyn, and we have seen that not far from Lyktos there was a city called Arkades. Perhaps in the course of time these Arcadian immigrants augmented the Cretan tradition and identified the similar sounding place name of Lyktos with the cult and myth from their motherland.

Thus, if Zeus was already associated with Dikte in prehistoric times, the role of Lyktos and Mt. Aigaion in Hesiod are puzzling. Of course, one could argue, as Marinatos did, that many Cretan places claimed to be the birth place of Zeus. Even if that were the case, however, the choice of Lyktos and the otherwise unknown Mt. Aigaion needs to be explained. Faure suggested that Lyktos was the most important Dorian city in Crete at the

¹⁶² Dated by Faure to Late Minoan III.

¹⁶³ Faure 1964, pp. 120-123.

¹⁶⁴ Valério 2007. On the relationship between Zeus and a male Minoan divinity, see Willetts 1962, pp. 199-200; Dickinson 1994, p. 284.

¹⁶⁵ Perlman 2000a, pp. 63-67.

time of Hesiod and, as such, would have been the natural choice for the poet.¹⁶⁶ It is also possible that Hesiod drew on quite ancient traditions originally associated with local Minoan sacred caves, as Nilsson and West pointed out.¹⁶⁷ Still, because Lyktos never reappears, we cannot be sure that the poet himself did not introduce it. Moreover, there is the question of the location of Mt. Aigaion. Faure argued for Ida,¹⁶⁸ but this will not do, for no source equates the two, and in fact we have a Hellenistic scholium calling Aigaion ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίου, so the two were not identical. If it is a real mountain, it is probably to be identified with Mt. Lasithi in central Crete.

I suggest that the choice of Lyktos was due to familiarity with the traditions of Mt. Lykaion. We may be seeing a similar reflex in Hesiod and Pausanias, albeit many centuries later in the case of the latter. Just as the second century A.D. Arcadians used their local homonymous toponym Kretea to contradict the Cretan myth, so **Lyktos** could help to explain away the **Lykaion** myth. I maintain, however, that Hesiod was less interested in taking sides and rather used Lyktos as an indirect reference to the Arcadian myth, a sort of hint to his audience that would bring Lykaion to mind. We can explain Mt. Aigaion in a similar way. Some have interpreted it as ‘Goaty-mountain,’ an oblique reference to Amaltheia and goat’s milk. West, however, supports the idea that the name was once Ἀργαῖον, named for the nymph Ἀργη, known from later sources to have been a

¹⁶⁶ Faure 1964, p. 95.

¹⁶⁷ Nilsson 1950, p. 460; West 1966, p. 299-300.

¹⁶⁸ Faure 1964, p. 96.

Lyktian nymph loved by Zeus.¹⁶⁹ As we shall see, both interpretations could bring Mt. Lykaion to mind.

Let's review some of the possible connections between these toponyms and southwestern Arcadian tradition. As Lykosoura was the oldest city on earth (Paus. 8.38.1), so Lyktos was regarded as the oldest polis of Crete (Polyb. 4.54).¹⁷⁰ Human sacrifice to Zeus Lykaios was widely rumored in antiquity, and we find the same practice attested at Lyktos, also in honor of Zeus.¹⁷¹ As for Aigaion, if it refers to the goat, it could perhaps have brought Pan to mind, a god at home on Mt. Lykaion and closely associated with the goat in form and function.¹⁷² If, however, the original name was Argaion, there may be another play on words, with ἀργ- 'shining white, brilliant' corresponding to **Lykaion** and **Lyktos** 'light'.¹⁷³ Finally, we have Arkades, located like Lyktos below the probable location for Mt. Aigaion.¹⁷⁴ It is also striking that Stephanus of Byzantium reported Lyktos, a son of Lykaon, as the founder of the city.¹⁷⁵ Whatever we make of the antiquity of this last tradition, at the very least it provides evidence for how linguistic similarities could encourage conflation of the two traditions.

In sum, Hesiod, like Homer, implies knowledge of the Arcadian birth of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion. We can see him grappling with multiple traditions, which helps to explain

¹⁶⁹ West 1966, p. 300.

¹⁷⁰ Note also that Lyktos is one of the seven cities of Crete named in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.647).

¹⁷¹ Antikleides of Athens *FGrH* 140 F 7: Ἀντικλείδης ἐν Νόστοις ἀποφαίνεται ἀνθρώπους ἀποσφάττειν τῷ Δί; for commentary, see Verbruggen 1981, p. 113-114.

¹⁷² Πάν is a truncated form of his allonym Αἰγίπαν 'goat breeder,' seen already in Mycenaean *a3-ki-pa-ta* /*aigipastas*/ 'goatherd' (KN Fh 346, PY Ae 108); Puhvel 1987, p. 132.

¹⁷³ Frisk 1960, vol. 1., pp. 132-133, s.v. ἀργός 1; Chantraine 1999, pp. 104-105, s.v. ἀργός; Beekes 2010, p. 126, s.v. ἀργός 1. We see the same juxtaposition in Hom. *Il.* 2.647, where **Lykastos** is called ἀργινόνετρα 'bright-shining, white.'

¹⁷⁴ Perlman 2004, p. 1152.

¹⁷⁵ St.Byz., s.v. Λύκτος; Eust. *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 1, p. 486.

why he is so coy about where the birth actually occurred. The whole issue is made more complex by the many layers of Cretan cult and the fact that Arcadians probably migrated to central Crete during the Early Iron Age. They must have brought their own stories with them, and it is possible that one of these was the birth of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion. As we saw earlier in the case of the two traditions about Aphrodite's birth, Hesiod once again lets his audience know that there was another popular myth about Zeus' birth, one that placed the event at the ancient sanctuary on Mt. Lykaion.

V: Epimenides

We saw that the Cretan sage Epimenides was quoted by Callimachus in his account of Zeus' birth. We are unsure about the exact date of Epimenides' activity, although we can safely place him in the seventh or sixth century B.C. He is said to have cleansed Athens in 596/3 B.C. after the conspiracy of Kylon, but his long sleep in the Idaian Cave shows how stories about him are not very chronologically reliable.¹⁷⁶ His fame as a seer and sage encouraged all sorts of stories to attach themselves to him, but it seems safe to accept that he was a genuine Cretan religious figure with connections to Attica and the Peloponnese. It is not always clear that the works assigned to Epimenides were in fact written by him, but what has come down to us indicates an interest in theogony and ritual and can be dated to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. at the latest.

The fragments also demonstrate concern with Arcadian affairs. For instance, he is said to have predicted a Spartan defeat by the Arcadians. Our sources say that this event

¹⁷⁶ *BNJ* 457 T 1, with commentary (Toye). Other authorities say he slept for 40, 50, or 90 years. The earliest source for the slumber is the fourth century B.C. historian Theopompus; *BNJ* 115 F 67a-b.

happened at Orchomenos, but Tegea may be the more likely location.¹⁷⁷ More significant for our purposes is his interest in Arcadian divine genealogy: Epimenides is the first to call Pan the son of Zeus and twin brother of Arkas.¹⁷⁸ Zeus as the father of Pan calls the Lykaion sanctuary to mind, as this was the site in Arcadia where the two gods were most closely associated.

All this becomes more interesting when we examine another fragment of Epimenides, where he gives an account of a figure named Aigokeros (‘Goat horn’ = Capricorn).¹⁷⁹ Aigokeros was the son of Aigipan, an alternative name for Pan. He was placed among the stars (together with his mother, the Goat) because, according to Epimenides, he was with Zeus when he fought the Titans on Ida. Aigokeros is said to have had the same goatish form as his father. Additionally, he discovered the conch shell and used it as a horn to instill panic in the Titans, who subsequently fled.¹⁸⁰

What we have here is more evidence for the dynamic interaction of Cretan and Arcadian traditions in Archaic poetry. It seems clear that the myth of Amaltheia, the goat nurse of Zeus, has something to do with Aigipan, Aigokeros, and (perhaps) the name of Mt. Aigaion in Hesiod. Aigokeros may be a genuinely Cretan figure, but the details of his story reveal the influence of material attached to the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios. His father is Aigipan, who is none other than the Arcadian son of Zeus whom Epimenides discusses in fragment 9. Aigokeros’ participation in the battle with the Titans recalls the tradition that Zeus defeated the Giants in the Megalopolis Basin, which was inspired by

¹⁷⁷ *BNJ* 457 T 1, with commentary (Toye).

¹⁷⁸ *BNJ* 457 F 9.

¹⁷⁹ *BNJ* 457 F 18.

¹⁸⁰ On Aigokeros, who is elsewhere called the son of Pan and Amaltheia, see Fowler 2013, pp. 396-397.

the smoldering lignite bogs that characterize the area even today.¹⁸¹ We can associate his discovery of the conch shell as a kind of instrument with Pan's invention of the pipes, connected by the Arcadians with his sanctuary at Melpeia (Paus. 8.38.11). Yet another Arcadian story also comes to mind, that of Hermes and the invention of the lyre, which is recorded much earlier in the god's *Homeric Hymn*.

Epimenides thus presents us with a striking series of connections that link Arcadian and Cretan myth. Most intriguing is Epimenides' interest in Pan, the quintessentially Arcadian god. We can reconstruct the following stemma from his fragments:

Zeus
(Aigi)Pan Arkas
Aigokeros

Epimenides here connects Zeus to the two most Arcadian of all mythological figures, Arkas ('the Arcadian') and Pan. As mentioned, Pan's filiation from Zeus can only have called to mind Mt. Lykaion, where the two were worshipped together. Aigokeros, as son of Pan, can thus be traced back to Arcadia.

Accordingly, Epimenides shows a similar tendency to that which we saw in Hesiod. He seems to have known about and subscribed to the myth that made Pan the son of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion, and he even inserted this stemma into Cretan myth when he made Aigokeros son of Pan. We can again conclude that local myths from southwestern Arcadia were widely known by the Archaic period and were particularly connected with

¹⁸¹ Paus. 8.29.1; Bather and Yorke 1892-1893, p. 231.

the sanctuary on Mt. Lykaion, whose reputation can be detected in the verses of our earliest poets.

VI: Conclusions

In this chapter, we have seen just how ancient the cult name of Zeus Lykaios is, and how it expresses a deeply imbedded Indo-European mindset with parallels in the Indic and Italic traditions. We linked this situation to the archaeologically attested prehistoric heritage of the cult, which featured the form of Greek sacrificial ritual known from Homer. In the end, we concluded that continuity at Mt. Lykaion is not limited to the physical location or the accompanying religious practices, but rather also includes the maintenance of some of the most ancient, intangible concepts from the Indo-European past. All of the elements that we examined contributed to the cult's propensity for conservatism, from the peculiar geological formations to the local dialect. We must conclude that together these conservative features encouraged the area's reputation as the home of an autochthonous people who were older than the moon. This goes a long way in explaining why the Lykaion cult would eventually come to represent the Arcadians as an *ethnos* in Classical times.

We have also seen how certain myths of Mt. Lykaion that are familiar from post-Classical sources were known to our earliest poets. Starting from our final case study, it is apparent that Epimenides was familiar with local Parrhasian myths that made Zeus the father of Pan and Arkas. We shall return to this tradition in Chapter 3 when investigating the final ascendancy of Mt. Lykaion as the premier cult center of the Classical

Arcadians.¹⁸² But it is worth stressing now that the sanctuary made its presence felt from the earliest times for which we have documentation. The same conclusion was reached for Hesiod's *Theogony*, in which the poet alludes to the birth of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion. Taken together, Hesiod and Epimenides indicate that from early on Crete and southwestern Arcadia were seen to be mythologically linked. They were the two areas with the strongest claims to be the birthplace of Zeus, and their peculiar goat-like pastoral deities also encouraged connections to flourish in early poetry.

Finally, Homer picked up on many traditions from Arcadia, two of which can be connected to Parrhasia. The story of Lykourgos and his squire Ereuthalion reads as a mythological paradigm for the kind of ritual now attested in the inscription documenting the Peroplodmia. This sort of ceremony, where young men were presented with arms and armor every ninth year, must lay behind many of the stories about lycanthropy in Arcadia, and these in turn must be associated with the figure of Lykourgos, 'he who wards off wolves.' The Catalogue of Ships begins with Kyllene because of its fame as the cult center where Hermes was born. It ends with Parrhasia because of the reputation that this area had as the birthplace of Zeus. Given the deeply ancient heritage of the cult in all its aspects, it is easy to understand how Mt. Lykaion would be considered a most appropriate site for the birth of the father of gods and men. It is striking that Pindar describes the altar of Zeus Lykaios with the word that designated the supreme ruler in Mycenaean times (*Ol.* 13.107-108):

Ἀρκάσιν ἀνάσσων

¹⁸² Chapter 3, II, b.

μαρτυρήσει Λυκαίου βομὸς ἄναξ.

The lord-altar of Lykaios,

which rules over the Arcadians, shall bear witness.

With this idea in mind, in the next chapter we shall situate Mt. Lykaion in the world of Mycenaean Greece through an examination of the contemporary records inscribed in Linear B.

CHAPTER 2: MYCENAEAN MT. LYKAION AND THE LINEAR B DOCUMENTS

In his 1943 article, “The Lykaian Altar of Zeus,” Mylonas suggested that the Ash Altar of Zeus Lykaios, known at that time only from the historical period, was preceded by a prehistoric shrine.¹⁸³ In order to substantiate this argument, Mylonas relied on Pausanias’ description of the sanctuary, the archaeological data from Kourouniotis’ excavations undertaken in the early 20th century, none of which dated earlier than the seventh century



Figure 1: The Ash Altar and Temenos at Mt. Lykaion (photo by author)

B.C.,¹⁸⁴ and images on a cylinder seal, signet rings, and glass plaques produced by the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures. He was particularly struck by the arrangement of the Ash Altar on Mt. Lykaion,

which is composed of two units: a mound of earth fronted on its eastern side by two eagles perched atop two columns. After comparing this configuration with depictions of altars, columns, and birds from the Late Bronze Age, Mylonas concluded that the correspondences he uncovered strengthened his argument for a prehistoric shrine on Mt. Lykaion.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Mylonas 1943; Mylonas 1977, pp. 50-51, 56.

¹⁸⁴ Kourouniotis 1904.

¹⁸⁵ The same conclusion was reached by Stiglitz 1962, p. 63, n. 211, without reference to Mylonas 1943.

Thanks to the ongoing excavations conducted by the *synergasia* between the Greek Archaeological Service and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, we can now say that Mylonas' intuition was extraordinarily discerning. For, as we saw in Chapter 1, the new excavations have demonstrated that the altar on the southern peak of Mt. Lykaion was continuously used for cult from the Late Helladic II period until Hellenistic times.¹⁸⁶ In the present Chapter, I extend the discussion of Mylonas to the records inscribed in Linear B, with the purpose of elucidating any commonalities found in the Mycenaean records and the ancient reports and modern reconstructions of the cult of Zeus Lykaios. Following the lead of Mylonas, who in 1943 could only adduce the iconographical record of the Aegean Bronze Age, we will similarly survey the documentary data from this period to see what light it sheds upon the prehistoric cult. The data in question are restricted to proper names, either of people or places, which at first sight may seem negligible. In fact, however, such theophoric names can potentially indicate, and here I quote the Mycenologist Thomas Palaima, "the pious feelings that

¹⁸⁶ Romano and Voyatzis 2014, pp. 628-629.

parents, clan groups, and the general culture had for individual deities.”¹⁸⁷ The discussion here complements that found in the previous Chapter, where we explored the Indo-European heritage of the name of Zeus Lykaeos and the Arcadian material in the Catalogue of Ships.

I will discuss three specific instances for which the tablets offer parallels with the historical Lykaion cult. The first deals with the occurrence of place names that feature the

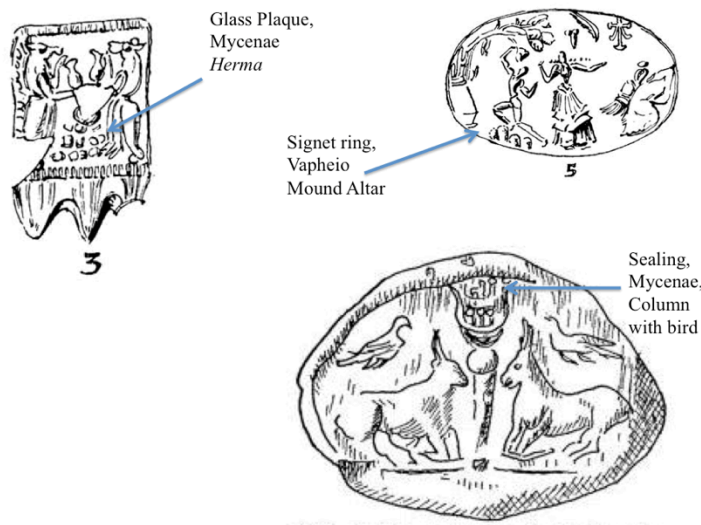


Figure 2: Late Bronze Age iconography reminiscent of the Cult of Zeus Lykaeos (source: Mylonas 1943)

sequence *LYK*-, which appear frequently in the area of Mt.

Lykaion during historical times and, I shall argue, in at least one documented instance during the Mycenaean era.

Our second case study focuses upon the goddess *Diwia*,

conjectured to be the original female counterpart to Zeus,

whose worship seems to have been widespread during Mycenaean times but is only rarely hinted at in historical cult and myth. Thirdly, we will examine evidence that suggests the presence of the river nymph Neda in the Late Bronze Age. We will then

¹⁸⁷ Palaima 2004, p. 442. Cf. Parker 2000, p. 79 on historical theophorics, which indicate “the religious practices which may underlie them ... and the spread and popularity of particular cults.” Cf. also Palaima 2009, p. 519 on using Linear B documents to examine continuities in Greek religious practices: “Given the relative paucity of documentation of ‘religion’ in the Linear B tablets, we should not overlook possible evidence simply because it does not come from the specific region we are studying.”

briefly survey other possible, although less clear, parallels in the regional toponymy of historical Arcadia and Mycenaean Messenia.

At the end of our discussion, I shall suggest that certain traditions deriving from the cult of Zeus Lykaios find parallels in the Mycenaean documents of Pylos. The Mycenaean data allows us to situate the prehistoric cult on Mt. Lykaion in a broader geographical and historical context. The shared toponymy and religious topography that we find in the landscapes of southwestern Arcadia, northern Messenia, and Triphylia during historical times have deep roots, and they persisted even as political units and borders changed through time. Accordingly, I argue that during the Late Bronze Age the region of Mt. Lykaion was much more closely connected with the southwestern Peloponnese than the areas to the north and east. This is of great historical interest because it was these latter regions that Mt. Lykaion joined when historical Arcadia came into being.

Our investigation will also shed new light on a theoretical problem in the study of Mycenaean religion and thereby situate the Mycenaean cult at Lykaion in an appropriate framework. Hägg identified two kinds of cults in Mycenaean Greece, which he termed ‘official’ and ‘popular.’¹⁸⁸ Wright problematized this idea by applying a different model of religion in Mycenaean Greece, one in which we should distinguish different classes of activity that coexist even as they leave different kinds of material evidence behind.¹⁸⁹ As

¹⁸⁸ Hägg 1981.

¹⁸⁹ Wright 1994, building on the work of Anthony Wallace and James V. Knight. Wallace divided cult institutions into four classes (Individualistic, Shamanic, Communal, and Ecclesiastical). In Wright’s words (p. 73), “The model is inclusive so that the lower orders of institution may continue to be present and functioning even as the higher orders emerge and dwarf them by their greater visibility.”

far as we can tell, Mt. Lykaion was not directly associated with a palatial center, meaning that it would fall into Hägg's 'popular' category. As Wright notes, however, the various palatial 'Cult Centers' seem to have been established in order to incorporate rural institutions into the "official, palace-based religion" as the palaces acquired more and more territory. Since the Lykaion cult both predates the formation of the palaces and outlasts their destruction, we can discuss the reverse of the process described by Wright. Did any features of the "official, palace-based religion" find their way into the Lykaion traditions? Do the tablets provide evidence for the kinds of beliefs that were incorporated into the palace religion as the state expanded?

Before delving into the records, however, it is necessary to ground our discussion in a brief survey of Arcadia in the Mycenaean world.

I: Background

a. Mycenaean Arcadia

Scholarship on Mycenaean Arcadia is currently gaining momentum. For many years the only study was Howell's seminal publication of 1970.¹⁹⁰ Howell had initially planned to survey the whole province for prehistoric remains, but in the end confined most of his exploration to the eastern plains and basins. The work of Hope Simpson and McDonald yielded some information about locations in Triphylia and southwestern Arcadia, but their main focus was upon Messenia.¹⁹¹ Recent work has fortunately

¹⁹⁰ Howell 1970.

¹⁹¹ McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961 and 1964.

increased our knowledge. Salavoura's recent synthesis on Mycenaean Arcadia¹⁹² lists 57 sites with material from this period, and the discovery of the Bronze Age sanctuary at Mt. Lykaion will certainly enhance our understanding of the prehistoric southwest.

Habitation is found on low, naturally fortified crests and extends down onto lower slopes. Sites on the edges of fertile plains were preferred, and some places occupied in prehistoric times became important poleis in the historical period. The latter include Pikernis: Gourtsouli (ancient Ptolis of Mantinea),¹⁹³ Tegea, Orchomenos, Pheneos, and Stymphalos. The current state of research, which has shown a noticeable bias in favor of eastern Arcadia,¹⁹⁴ indicates that sites are particularly concentrated around the plains of Orchomenos, Kaphyai, and Tegea, with a slightly smaller number in the plain of Mantinea. Hydrogeological studies suggest that these upland basins, which are endowed with a number of natural *katavothres*,¹⁹⁵ may have been drained by manmade works constructed in the Late Bronze Age, similar to but on a smaller scale than those in Boeotia's Kopaic Basin.¹⁹⁶

Northern Arcadia seems to have been sparsely or seasonally inhabited during prehistoric times. This fact may be due to a number of natural circumstances, including

¹⁹² Salavoura 2015, pp. 63-240. See also Salavoura 2005. In what follows I draw extensively from Dr. Salavoura's work.

¹⁹³ The standard practice when identifying prehistoric sites with unknown ancient names is to give the name of the closest modern settlement (here, Pikernis) followed by a colon and the more exact toponym (often a church) that is closest to the ancient site (here, Gourtsouli). Where possible, I follow this convention throughout the text.

¹⁹⁴ Things are changing, however: much new material has come to light along the Alpheios in western Arcadia. Note the distribution of Salavoura's 57 sites (2015, pp. 63-64): Stymphalia-Pheneatike, 5; Eastern Arcadia, 28; Southern Arcadia, 5; Western Arcadia, 11; Northern Arcadia, 8.

¹⁹⁵ On the *katavothres*, limestone fissures that naturally drain the plains, see Howell 1970, pp. 80-81, 85, 88-89.

¹⁹⁶ Salavoura 2005, p. 38 with bibliography at nn. 12-16.

the occasional flooding of the plain of Lousoi, the altitude and accompanying harsh winter climate, and the presence of forests during the Bronze Age. There are reports of two Late Helladic establishments in the vicinity of Kleitor, however, at Palaiopyrgo and Philomati.¹⁹⁷

The Mycenaean material found in the vicinity of Tegea¹⁹⁸ has suggested links with Homer's Arcadia. As we have seen, in *Iliad* 2's Catalogue of Ships the leader of the Arcadians is Agapenor, king of Tegea, and it is therefore tempting to hypothesize that there was a Mycenaean center at Tegea comparable to palatial establishments found elsewhere. This theory is lent a degree of credence by a roughly contemporary foreign source, for on a statue base of Amenhotep III (r. 1390-1352 B.C.) at Kôm-el-Hetan in Egypt there are listed a number of patently Aegean place names, one of which is *Diqai*. It is possible that this is to be resolved as something like **Di/ēg/kai*, which would equate well enough with Greek Τεγέα.¹⁹⁹ It is also possible that the word is meant to render the prehistoric form of Thebes (known from Linear B tablets as *te-qa*). At any rate, the other places named in the inscription are centered around Crete (Knossos, Amnisos, Kydonia, Phaistos, Lyktos), Messenia and Laconia (Messan(i)a), Kythera, Amyklai), Eleia (Eleia, Pisaia), and the Argolic Gulf (Mycenae, Nauplia), so in terms of geographical proximity Tegea is the better choice.

¹⁹⁷ Salavoura 2008, p. 85; Salavoura 2015, pp. 227-230.

¹⁹⁸ Howell 1970, pp. 87-95, nos. 17-34; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 76, no. B1; Voyatzis 1985, pp. 156-157, with pl. XIX; Parker 2008, p. 98; Salavoura 2015, pp. 116-134. On the Mycenaean pottery and other objects from the sanctuary of Athena Alea, see Voyatzis 1990, pp. 64-65 and Nordquist, Voyatzis, and Østby 2014.

¹⁹⁹ Kitchen 1966, p. 24; Bennet 2011, pp. 159-160. Cline and Stannish 2011, p. 9 transliterate the word *dy-kʷi-iʷ-s*, and note that the final *s* in this interpretation would cause problems for Tegea, although it would also, it seems, be problematic for *Thegʷai*. On Eleia and Pisaia, see Latacz 2004, p. 131 and Cline and Stannish 2011, p. 9.

Sergent²⁰⁰ took this idea further, arguing that Mycenaean Tegea controlled Arcadia through a series of fortresses at Stymphalos, Gourtsouli, Nestane, and Palaiokastros, with the first three monitoring access to and from the Argolid and the last securing the valley of the Alpheios. Furthermore, Burelli Bergese has pointed to the fact that Tegea has relatively easy access to the sea by way of the Tanaos Valley, which skirts around the northern stretches of Mt. Parnon and reaches the sea at modern Paralio Astros. In this view, it may not be coincidental that Mycenaean tholoi have been found at Vourvoura: Analipsis, in between Tegea and Karyes.²⁰¹ It is probable, moreover, that a Mycenaean dam existed in the vicinity of Tegea at Lake Takka.²⁰² Østby views the identification of Hieroglyphic *Diqai* with Tegea favorably, and he furthermore highlights the fact that Tegea is located on the best route linking Laconia with the northeastern Peloponnese and areas across the Isthmus.²⁰³

Although the idea of a Mycenaean center at Tegea is certainly plausible, it must be admitted that the telltale signs of a palace are missing: there are no Linear B tablets, no megaron, and no fortifications. Further exploration and excavation may discover the remains of a palace, but until then a palatial Mycenaean Tegea must remain hypothetical. Indeed, Voyatzis has noted that the tholos tombs at Alea: Palaiochori south-southeast of Tegea were small and contained modest grave goods that suggested Argive influence.²⁰⁴ On the other hand, if a Late Bronze Age state was indeed centered on Tegea, it is not

²⁰⁰ Sergent 1980.

²⁰¹ Burelli Bergese 1995, p. 14. On Vourvoura: Analipsis, see Howell 1970, pp. 95-96, no. 36; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, pp. 123-124, no. C 58; Salavoura 2015, pp. 152-159.

²⁰² Knauss 1988.

²⁰³ Østby 2007.

²⁰⁴ Voyatzis 1985, p. 156.

necessary to assume that this state ruled the rest of historical Arcadia. The fortresses identified by Sergent as bastions of the Tegean kingdom could just as easily have been independent establishments for the use of local communities. Furthermore, the description of Arcadia in the Catalogue of Ships, which very arguably conveys information about the world of the Late Bronze Age, can be interpreted differently.²⁰⁵

Moving westwards from Tegea, we find the prehistoric site of Asea, where Mycenaean material was recovered in small quantities.²⁰⁶ One sherd has been assigned to Late Helladic IIIA2, but Hope Simpson suggests that Hellenistic construction may have obliterated any Mycenaean levels, thereby making it difficult to determine the importance of the place.²⁰⁷



Figure 3: View of Mt. Lykaion from the Citadel of Palaiokastros (photo by author)

²⁰⁵ See below, Chapter 2, I, b.

²⁰⁶ Holmberg 1944; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, pp. 82-83, no. B30; Salavoura 2015, pp. 134-144.

²⁰⁷ Hope Simpson 1981, p. 88.

Further west and north we reach the hill of Palaiokastros: Agia Sotira, one of the most important Mycenaean sites in the region.²⁰⁸ It is located 20 km west of Karytaina on high ground above the right bank of the Alpheios, a position that affords Palaiokastros control over the route between Arcadia and Eleia. A Classical wall surrounds the acropolis, and earlier walls have been detected as well. Charneux and Ginouvès discovered obsidian here when they first explored the site,²⁰⁹ and the excavator Christou dated some of the walls to the Mycenaean period.²¹⁰ The view to the east is dominated by the northern peak of Mt. Lykaion.



Figure 4: The Mycenaean Cemetery at Palaiokastros (photo by autor)

A little to the west lies the cemetery of Palaiokastros: PalaioPyrgos, where there is a series of chamber tombs and pit graves arranged in rows and clusters. Demakopoulou and Crouwel, who were responsible for publishing the excavation of Christou,

²⁰⁸ Charneux and Ginouvès 1956, pp. 523-538; McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, p. 227, no. 11; Howell 1970, pp. 101-102, no. 55; McDonald and Rapp 1972, p. 308, no. 330; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 83, no. B32; Hope Simpson 1981, p. 88, no. D19; Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1998; Cultraro 2005; Salavoura 2005, pp. 40-43; Demakopoulou 2007, pp. 166-168; Parker 2008, pp. 187-196; Salavoura 2015, pp. 188-199.

²⁰⁹ Charneux and Ginouvès 1956, p. 538.

²¹⁰ Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1998, p. 269, n. 3.

determined that the cemetery came into use during Late Helladic IIA and continued through Late Helladic IIIC, but there was only slight evidence for the period in between.²¹¹ Most of the material dates to Late Helladic IIIC. Stirrup jars from the cemetery show similarities with specimens from Perati in Attica, Naxos, and Crete, while two or three are imports originating in the Argolid. Other sherds have parallels in Achaea and Eleia. In Tomb 6, at least seven skulls were recovered, which shows that the cemetery's individual graves were intended to accommodate multiple burials, probably over the course of generations. Another chamber tomb had an opening cut into the roof to serve as a conduit for libations. It is possible that here we have evidence for a Mycenaean cult of the dead, although the date of the cutting is unclear.²¹² In addition to ceramics, the excavators recovered bronze implements and weapons. Among the latter were a Naue Type II sword, which has its ultimate origins to the north in Europe, and two spearheads. The sword dates the burials to Late Helladic IIIC Middle and has contemporary parallels from the area around Patras in Achaea.

²¹¹ The following is based on Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1998, pp. 281-283.

²¹² Parker 2008, pp. 190-192.



Map 3:
Mycenaean Sites
in Western and
Southwestern
Arcadia

Demakopoulou and Crouwel characterize the community at Palaioikastro as prosperous, at least in the Late Helladic IIIC phase.²¹³ Others have proposed that the inhabitants were refugees who fled their original homes after the destructions of Late Helladic IIB,²¹⁴ but the presence of Late Helladic IIA/B material implies an earlier settlement, perhaps supplemented by newcomers in Late Helladic IIIC.²¹⁵ Spyropoulos eventually excavated over 100 tombs at the site, and publication of these would greatly improve our knowledge of the region and its occupation. Preliminary reports inform us that the material he found dated from Late Helladic IIB to Submycenaean.²¹⁶ From the material known thus far it is clear that Palaioikastro had connections with the Argolid, Messenia, Eleia, Achaea, Attica,

²¹³ Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1998, p. 283.

²¹⁴ Desborough 1964, p. 92; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, pp. 75, 381.

²¹⁵ Parker 2008, p. 192 suggests that newcomers from disturbed areas “could have been welcomed to settle, perhaps coming from communities already known.”

²¹⁶ Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1998, p. 283, addendum.

Crete, the Cyclades, and even southern Italy. In terms of its significance for Mt. Lykaion, its location on a hill above the right bank of the Alpheios provided a visual connection with the northern slopes of the mountain. The site has been tentatively identified with ancient Bouphagion, known from Pausanias as a place on the borders of Heraia and Megalopolis, although I wonder if it is not the site of Lykoa in Kynouria.²¹⁷

Other places of interest in the vicinity of southwestern Arcadia include Dimitsana, Leontari, Lepreon: Agios Dimitrios, Ancient Phigaleia, Kakouraiika, Bardaki, and Loutra Iraitas: Agios Yiorgios. The first possesses a commanding view of the Lousios Gorge to the south, and on the southern acropolis slight evidence of Mycenaean occupation has come to light.²¹⁸ There may also be traces of Mycenaean fortifications.²¹⁹ Leontari is the site of Classical Leuktron, a place on the borders of Arcadia and Laconia in the southern Megalopolis Basin. Its possible habitation in the Mycenaean period is based on the discovery of a single sherd.²²⁰ Agios Dimitrios is located in Triphylia, 200 m to the east and below the remains of the acropolis of Classical Lepreon. It is an imposing outcrop (150 m x 100 m) overlooking the valley of the Tholon river, and a good deal of prehistoric material has been recovered. This includes Late Helladic II-III sherds, an indication that there was Mycenaean occupation of the site, and Agios Dimitrios also has

²¹⁷ Charneux and Ginouvès 1956, p. 523, with n. 3; Paus. 8.26.8. The identification with Bouphagion is disputed by Jost 1973. Demakopoulou 2007, pp. 166, 168 suggests that the Minoan and Aegean elements at Palaiokastros could have arrived via the important port of Epidavros Limera in eastern Laconia.

²¹⁸ Howell 1970, p. 100, no. 47; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 83, no. B31; Hope Simpson 1981, p. 88, no. D18; Salavoura 2015, pp. 206-209.

²¹⁹ Pikoulas 1986, pp. 110, 113, with pl. 24, fig. 9 (= Pikoulas 2002, pp. 194, 197, with pl. 24, fig. 9); it could be Archaic or Mycenaean. On the prehistoric pottery from Dimitsana, see pp. 116-117, with pl. 26, fig. 10 (= 2002a, pp. 200-201, with pl. 26, fig. 10).

²²⁰ Pikoulas 1988b, p. 135: "foot of a Late Helladic kylix (?)." On the same page Pikoulas reports the discovery of obsidian blades. See also Salavoura 2015, pp. 160-161.

Final Neolithic and Early Helladic material. The settlement rose to prominence in the Early Helladic II period, a point of interest when considering the Early Helladic material discovered at Mt. Lykaion.²²¹ The evidence for Mycenaeans at Ancient Phigaleia is admittedly slight. In the 19th century a gemstone reported to have come from the site was identified as Mycenaean.²²² Karapanagiotou excavated a chamber tomb of Late Helladic IIIA-B date and identified at least six more tombs at Agios Yiorgios of Loutra Iraitas.²²³ Additionally, more chamber tombs have recently been discovered along the north bank of the Alpheios near the villages of Kakouraiika and Bardaki.²²⁴

Late Helladic evidence at these sites is important for Mt. Lykaion due to their proximity and lines-of-sight. From Dimitsana one can look down the Lousios Gorge for a clear view of the plain of Megalopolis and the imposing peaks of Lykaion. Although the evidence from Leontari is admittedly meager, if inhabited in Late Helladic times it would provide us with a settlement in the Megalopolis Basin. Note how Thucydides (5.54.1) describes the place: ἐς Λεῶκτρα τῆς ἑαυτῶν [sc. Λακεδαιμονίων] μεθορίας πρὸς τὸ Λύκαιον. The acropolis at Leontari is likewise provided with a striking view of the Ash Altar and the peak of Agios Yiorgios the High. As with Palaiokastro, the new sites along the Alpheios could have been in dialogue with the north face of Lykaion across the river.

²²¹ McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, pp. 231-232, no. 21; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 180, no. D245; Hope Simpson 1981, p. 142, no. F242.

²²² Howell 1970, p. 102, no. 57.

²²³ Karapanagiotou 2006, 2007, 2012; Salavoura 2008, pp. 79-80; Salavoura 2015, pp. 203-206.

²²⁴ Salavoura 2015, pp. 199-202.



**Figure 5a: View of
Mt. Tetrazi from Mt.
Lykaion (photo by
author)**

Ancient Phigaleia is located along the Neda river, which rises on the slopes of Mt. Lykaion and is integral to local myth. In historical times Phigaleia had its own myth about the cleansing of Rhea in the nearby river Lymax ('Refuse river'; Paus. 8.41.2), which flows into the Neda. As mentioned earlier, Agios Dimitrios is located along the river Tholon in the next valley to the north, which according to Zachos provides the only natural route from Triphylia to Arcadia.²²⁵ In later history this area was something of a melting pot, with a number of groups vying for control over the fertile valleys. In the fourth century B.C. the Lepreans were claiming to be Arcadians, and Callimachus (*Jov.* 38-40) mentions Lepreon and its inhabitants (the Kaukones) in association with the birth of Zeus.²²⁶ In the territory of historical Phigaleia were Bassae and its sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios.²²⁷ Here on Mt. Kotilion there is a clear view of both Mt. Lykaion and the Ash Altar.

²²⁵ Zachos 1984, pp. 327-328 and 1986.

²²⁶ For Lepreans as Arcadians, see, e.g., *IG* V, 2.1.

²²⁷ Chapter 3, II, a.

Moreover, Mycenaean remains overlooking the Neda river valley on its southern side are not lacking. Striking in this connection are the two small tholos tombs northwest of Chalkias at Aīlias (Late Helladic IIA-III B), which are located along one of the routes leading northwards to the Neda over the slopes of Mt. Tetrazi. From the top of the pass, just before the village of Kypseli, one has a clear view of the Ash Altar.²²⁸ Thus, if we wish to hypothesize about where the people who gathered at Mt. Lykaion for Late Helladic sacrifices came from, it is certainly plausible that the residents of Palaiokastros, Leontari, Agios Dimitrios, Ancient Phigaleia, Dimitsana, Aīlias, and the sites along the Alpheios made the pilgrimage up to the southern peak of Lykaion.



Figure 5b: View of Mt. Lykaion from the Village of Kypseli, south of the Neda (photo by author)

Perhaps most intriguing of all in terms of proximity to the Ash Altar is the possibility that Lykosoura was inhabited in prehistoric times. The city has never been excavated, although much work has been done at the sanctuary of Despoina. Recently, Salavoura has called our attention to an Late Bronze Age seal stone thought to come from

²²⁸ I investigated this area with E. Prevedorou on August 30, 2015. For the tombs, see Boyd 2002, p. 153, no. 26; Hope Simpson 2014, no. 25A.

the site. It depicts a man grabbing the horns of a bull, and if it in fact comes from Lykosoura, it would open the possibility of another prehistoric site on Mt. Lykaion itself.²²⁹

In northwest Arcadia, Syriopoulos has described the site of Troupes near the village of Dimitra, for which he catalogues evidence of occupation dating from the Neolithic to Late Helladic IIIC.²³⁰ Further to the east, there is report of an extensive Late Helladic settlement at Ripa/Stou Ripa near the village of Prasino, and at Sphakovouni near Kamenitsa Spyropoulos excavated a site with levels dating from Neolithic to Late Helladic IIIB2.²³¹

As for Mycenaean pottery from Arcadia, our knowledge is, as in other areas of research, still developing.²³² Mountjoy²³³ was able to make some observations on the material from Palaikastro and Vourvoura: Analipsis. It is significant that pottery from the latter included Late Helladic IIA palatial jars and a ring-handled cup, both of which reveal connections with the mainstream Mycenaean tradition. The palace style is considered to be indicative of a *koine* linking Messenia, Laconia, the Argolid, and eastern Central Greece. To these regions we may add the area south of the Alpheios in Triphylia, for many palace style amphoras were discovered at Kakovatos.²³⁴ The retorted spiral

²²⁹ Salavoura 2015, pp. 532-533, with fig. 15β; *CMS I Suppl.*, pp. 69-70, pl. 35. Salavoura 2015, p. 186 also reports the discovery of Neolithic and Early Helladic sherds on the east slopes of Lykaion at Agios Yiorgios the High and the Kastro of Agios Yiorgios. Romano and Voyatzis 2010b, p. 49 suggest the possibility that Lykosoura may have prehistoric levels.

²³⁰ Syriopoulos 1973, pp. 193-205, with pls. 45-48; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 83, no. B33; Salavoura 2015, pp. 217-221.

²³¹ Salavoura 2008, pp. 78-79, 80-81; Salavoura 2015, pp. 217.

²³² Salavoura 2015, pp. 401-489.

²³³ Mountjoy 1999, pp. 294-299.

²³⁴ See below, Chapter 2, I, b.

motif, of Minoan origin, found at Vourvoura: Analipsis indicates links with Agios Stephanos in Laconia, or perhaps with Kythera. A Late Helladic IIA squat jug from Palaioikastro proves this region's connections with the wider Mycenaean world. Late Helladic IIB is represented by a Vapheio cup from Sphakiovouni in northern Arcadia, which likewise shows that this zone was not isolated.

Late Helladic IIIA2 is known at Palaioikastro through an alabastron decorated with rock pattern. The majority of material from Palaioikastro, however, is Late Helladic IIIC, particularly of the Middle and Late phases. The peculiar combination of shapes derived from Achaea and Eleia with Minoan decoration is noteworthy, for it hints at contact with Laconia. Octopus style stirrup jars stand out among the Minoan themes. Local idiosyncrasies are noticeable as well, such as the enormous size of some vases. A jar from Kladeos: Trypes in Eleia was probably imported from Palaioikastro, and similarities have been noticed between certain pots of Palaioikastro and specimens from Epidavros Limera in eastern Laconia, ancient Elis, and Kalapodi in Phocis. Neutron activation analysis on sherds from Palaioikastro revealed affinities with material from the northwest Peloponnese (seven sherds) and Messenia (six sherds).²³⁵

Finally, the recent excavations at the Ash Altar of Mt. Lykaion have revealed Late Neolithic/Final Neolithic, Early Helladic, Middle Helladic, and Late Helladic material, with the greatest concentration of prehistoric objects found immediately above

²³⁵ Tomlinson and French 1997, pp. 139-144. The northwest Peloponnese group had chemical profiles similar to those from the Argolid. I thank Prof. M.E. Voyatzis for her help and advice regarding Mycenaean pottery from Arcadia.

bedrock.²³⁶ Late Helladic predominates, with continuity of use from at least Late Helladic IIB through Late Helladic IIIC and into the Early Iron Age.

The Final Neolithic (ca. 4500-3200 B.C.) pottery includes some material that may be dated to Late Neolithic II (ca. 4800-4500 B.C.), and most of it has parallels with objects from contemporary levels at Agios Dimitrios. A quadruped figurine was also recovered. The Early Helladic (ca. 3200-2000 B.C.) ceramic evidence mostly dates to Early Helladic III, although Early Helladic II may be represented by fragments of sauceboats, and there are sherds of “baking pans” or hearths that could be Early Helladic I. Middle Helladic (ca. 2000-1600 B.C.) includes some fragments of goblets or stemmed bowls, although imported fabrics that would indicate Minyan or Matt Painted wares are scarce.

The Mycenaean level directly above bedrock has ceramics dating from Late Helladic IIB to Late Helladic IIIC, and hundreds of *kylikes* of Late Helladic IIIA2 to Late Helladic IIIB date have been identified. Connections with Laconian Late Helladic material are being investigated, and the most recent results of petrographic analysis have revealed affinities with Laconia and Messenia.²³⁷ Also recovered were stirrup jars, *askoi*, deep bowls, stemmed bowls, one handled bowls, mugs, a dipper, and a possible feeding bottle. Small finds include terracotta animal figurines, human figurines, and a Late Minoan II lentoid seal-stone depicting a bull. The animal figurines include bulls, while among the human figurines are fragments of both phi and psi types.

²³⁶ The following summary is drawn from Romano and Voyatzis 2014. Zolotnikova 2013, pp. 100-103 and Salavoura 2015, pp. 183-188 review the material in brief.

²³⁷ M.E. Voyatzis, Personal Communication, February 2, 2015.

From the faunal material it appears that sheep and goats were sacrificed during the Late Bronze Age, with most of the bones recovered being femurs, patellas, and tails. Pig bone was also recorded. The C-14 dates so far obtained include 1527 +/- 97 B.C. and 1332 +/- 52 B.C. As noted in Chapter 1 (I), the excavators have interpreted the Mycenaean evidence as indicative of feasting activity and ritual *thysia*.²³⁸ The earlier material likely represents some kind of occasional use, although the exact nature of this use remains unclear. The unbroken sequence continues from the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age with specimens of Submycenaean, Messenian and Laconian Dark Age, Protogeometric, and Geometric drinking vessels. À propos of the large amount of *kylikes* discovered in the Ash Altar, Galaty has argued that in the Pylian polity “*kylikes* were multivalent and played a dynamic role in the political-economic contests, such as feasts, that followed and accompanied attempts to better integrate the Pylian state.”²³⁹ Although Galaty is particularly concerned with fine ware kaolinite *kylikes*, the idea that this kind of vessel presumes a level of organization and elite activity is certainly interesting for our understanding of prehistoric Mt. Lykaion.²⁴⁰

b. Mt. Lykaion in the Greater Mycenaean World

After Michael Ventris deciphered Linear B in 1952, scholars were quick to realize that the Mycenaean dialect shared the most commonalities with historical Arcado-

²³⁸ See also Starkovich et al. 2013 and Menzter et al. 2014.

²³⁹ Galaty 2010, p. 237. Galaty discusses the multi-purpose use of different kinds of *kylikes* and the significance that they had for communities of different statuses.

²⁴⁰ Conversely, Salavoura 2015, p. 306 suggests ritual practice on Mt. Lykaion “πιθανότατα συνδέεται με λαϊκές/αγροτικές λατρείες, παρά με επίσημες/αστικές.” Interestingly, she goes on to note: “Τα έως σήμερα πιθανά παραδείγματα τέλεσης έμπυρων θυσιών συνδέονται με μεγάλα κέντρα και ιδίως ανάκτορα ή με εντός οικισμών ιερά (Ελευσίνα, Απόλλων Μαλεάτας Επιδαύρου, Πύλος, Άγιος Κωνσταντίνος Μεθάνων, Ασίνη, Φυλακωπή και πιθανώς Μυκήνες, Τίρυνθα, Καλαπόδι).”

Cypriot.²⁴¹ It was even suggested that refugees from the coastal centers fled up into the mountains when the Mycenaean palaces collapsed. The presence of a number of place names in the Pylian archives that are also found in historical Arcadia prompted the suggestion that these refugees brought their toponymic conventions with them.²⁴² The most striking of these toponymic correspondences are Erymanthos, Orchomenos, Lousoi, Gortys, and Halous, but four more can be identified, although with less scholarly agreement (Geraistion, Enispe, Asea, Leuktron).²⁴³

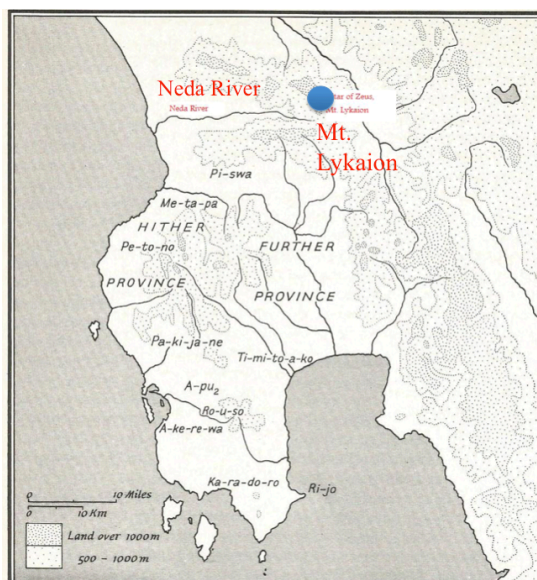
The reconstructed political geography of the Pylian state is relevant for the Mycenaean cult site on Mt. Lykaion, for scholars have generally argued that the northern border zone followed the Neda river and the Tetrazi Mountains. The Neda rises on the southern side of Mt. Lykaion, and Tetrazi is located immediately to the south, being essentially the southern extension of Lykaion.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ Duhoux 2013, p. 35, who also allows for a larger grouping: Proto-Arcado-Cypriot-Ionic-Attic. The most important connections with Arcado-Cypriot are: 1) assibilation of **ti > si* (shared generally by the rest of East Greek); 2) the third person singular primary medio-passive ending in *-toi*; 3) the dative-locative construction with *pa-ro/παρά*. There are also a number of isoglosses at the level of vocabulary, although these are sometimes dismissed as retained archaisms.

²⁴² Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 416; Chadwick 1976, pp. 40-42. Kiechle 1962 is an important early study which takes the tradition of the Minyan origins of the Neleids into account.

²⁴³ More recently, it has been argued that these correspondences are due to the similarity in dialect between the Linear B documents and historical Arcadian; Salavoura 2015, pp. 560-563. I suggest that they represent shared toponymic conventions that were particularly preserved in the mountains of Arcadia, but which – in the case of Orchomenos, for example – occasionally survived elsewhere. The tablets documenting these instances are (including adjectival forms): *o-ru-ma-to*/Erymanthos (PY An 519, Cn 3); *e-ko-me-no*/Orchomenos/Erchomeos (PY An 661, Aq 218, Cn 40, 599, Ea 780, Na 406, 941); *ro-u-so*/Lousoi (PY Aa 717, 798, Ab 382, 1099, Cn 285, 328, Fr 1220, 1226, Jn 829, 832, Jo 438, Ma 365, Mb 1398, Mn 456, 1370, 1411, Ua 1413, Un 47, Vn 10, 130); *ko-tu-we*/Gortys (PY An 233, 615, Na 908); *a₂-ru-wo-te*/Halous (PY An 657); *ke-ra-ti-jo-jo wo-wo*/Geraistion (PY An 424); *e-ni-pa-te-we*/Enispe (PY Jn 658, 725); *a-si-ja-ti-ja*/Asea (PY Ae 134, Cn 4, 254, 1197, Jn 750, On 300, Xa 639); *re-u-ko-to-ro*/Leuktron (e.g., PY An 35).

²⁴⁴ For the course of the Neda, see *RE* XVI, 1935, coll. 2170-2171, s.v. Neda (Meyer). In antiquity Tetrazi was known as Mts. Nomia; cf. Paus. 8.38.11. See *RE* XVII, 1936, col. 821, s.v. Nomia (Meyer) and *RE* Supp. IX, 1962, col. 462, s.v. Nomia (Meyer).



**Map 4: The Pylian State
according to Chadwick
(modified from Chadwick 1976)**

Our general picture of Pylian geography is still based on Chadwick's work.²⁴⁵

Certain Linear B texts mention *de-we-ro-a₃-ko-ra-i-ja* and *pe-ra₃-ko-ra-i-ja*, the 'Hither' (δευρο-) and 'Further' (περα-) Provinces. **A₃-ko-ra-i-ja* is similar to the Classical name, Aigaleon, for the mountain range that extends from Kyparissia in the north to Mt. Lykodemos and modern Pylos in the south.²⁴⁶ Thus, it is generally agreed that this mountain divided the Pylian state into two separate administrative districts, one to its west on the Ionian coast and another to its east and centered upon the Pamisos river, with

²⁴⁵ Chadwick 1963; Chadwick 1972; Chadwick 1973, p. 44; Chadwick 1976, pp. 35-48; Chadwick 1977a; Chadwick 1977b. A quote (p. 226) from 1977a is appropriate here: "The result of this investigation is clear. There is no evidence that any place names on the Pylos tablets are to be located within the historical frontiers of Arcadia. *At the same time, I cannot see any reason why the Pylians should not have occupied the extreme south-western fringe of Arcadia, so as to control the few passes leading into Messenia.* Certainly Arcadia was inhabited in Mycenaean times, but the settlements so far known are mainly in the east of the country. If Pylos had had substantial possessions there, it would be strange if there were not better indications on our documents" (italics mine). Palmer 1963, pp. 65-77 is also fundamental.

²⁴⁶ Str. 8.4.1-2: ἔστι δ' ἡ Μεσσήνη μετὰ Τριφυλίαν· κοινὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν ἄκρα, μεθ' ἣν τὸ Κορυφάσιον· ὑπέρεκται δ' ὄρος ἐν ἑπτὰ σταδίοις τὸ Αἰγαλέον τούτου τε καὶ τῆς θαλάττης. Ἡ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ Πύλος ἡ Μεσσηνιακὴ ὑπὸ τῷ Αἰγαλέω πόλις ἦν, κατεσπασμένης δὲ ταύτης ἐπὶ τῷ Κορυφασίῳ τινὲς αὐτῶν ὠίκησαν.

the eastern border formed by the Nedon river.²⁴⁷ The two provinces met at a relatively open border in the north, for we have cases where places from the northern Hither Province are associated with others in the northern Further Province.²⁴⁸

Bennet has put forward a compelling account of Pylos' rise to preeminence.²⁴⁹ According to this view, during the Early Mycenaean period (Late Helladic I-IIA) Messenia saw the rise of a number of local chieftains who were buried in monumental tholos or chamber tombs. In the course of Late Helladic IIIA-B, the polity at Pylos gradually expanded to take over first the Ionian coast of Messenia and continued until it conquered a similar-sized state in the Pamisos valley, the latter with its capital at *re-u-ko-to-ro /Leuktron/*.²⁵⁰ The ascendancy of Pylos is linked to the decline of tholoi at places like Peristeria, Malthi, Koukounara, and Antheia, as well as a decrease in the buildings representative of elites dating to Late Helladic IIB-Late Helladic IIIA1/2 Early. If, as Bintliff has suggested, the Hither Province was centered upon the Stenyklarian Plain, it would have controlled all of the major routes into southwestern Arcadia.²⁵¹

²⁴⁷ For a recent account, see Bennet 2011, pp. 151-155. Bennet disagrees with Chadwick on the configuration of the northern limits of the kingdom, but there is nevertheless much agreement between the two views. See also the recent discussion of Hope Simpson 2014, pp. 45-70, with tab. 5 for the author's identifications of major Linear B place names with archaeological sites. Cosmopoulos 2006 offers a view from one of the district capitals, *a-pu₂* (the archaeological site of Iklaina), and argues for a four-tiered settlement hierarchy.

²⁴⁸ PY Ma 225, the itemized tax record for *pi*-*82 (**Piswa*, the northernmost district of the Hither Province), includes the specification *re-u-ko-to-ro za-we-te*, a phrase that means "this year, to/for Leuktron." *Pi*-*82 is also associated with Further Province places on An 830, where it appears with *a-te-re-wi-ja*, *e-sa-re-wi-ja*, and *ra-wa-ra-ti-ja*. Cn 131 includes a shepherd *po-ro-u-te-u* at *pi*-*82, and we are informed elsewhere (Vn 493) that a man with the same name is from *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*, another Further Province toponym. Likewise, *me-ta-pa* in the northern Hither Province is connected with *a-te-re-wi-ja* on Aa 779.

²⁴⁹ Bennet 1995; Bennet 1998, pp. 125-129; Bennet 1998-1999, pp. 23, 30; Bennet 1999, pp. 142-144, with fig. 5; Bennet 2007, pp. 29-39; Bennet 2011, pp. 154-155.

²⁵⁰ Bennet 1998-1999, pp. 12-14.

²⁵¹ In Bintliff 1977, p. 54.

In a recent study, Eder has suggested that the border may have extended even further to the north and included much of historical Triphylia, including the Mycenaean site of Kakovatos, where three tholos tombs have been discovered.²⁵² The 23 palace-style amphoras recovered from these tombs demonstrate that the place had connections with other Mycenaean centers. If Eder's reconstruction of the Pylian state's borders is correct, the northeastern limit essentially ran along the western face of Lykaion. Interestingly, certain place names in the Pylian archives – in particular that of the northernmost district in the Hither Province, **Piswa* (*pi*-*82) – are very similar to the names of historical regions near the Alpheios river. It is worth noting that in Homer, Nestor's Pylos stretched all the way to the Alpheios, and one of the reasons that Parrhasia is the only western territory included in the Arcadian contingent is its proximity to Nestor's kingdom and the territory of the following contingent, that of the Epeians in Eleia.²⁵³ Even for Homer, then, Parrhasia and Mt. Lykaion bordered the kingdom centered upon Messenia, and Yalouris has even argued that the battle scene frescoes found in Hall 64 of the Palace of Nestor represented the fight between Nestor and the forces of Pylos, on the one hand, and the Arcadians under Ereuthalion, on the other.²⁵⁴

²⁵² Eder 2011. See also Parker 1993, pp. 41-54. For other alternative reconstructions, see Dickinson and Bintliff in Bintliff 1977, pp. 39-40, 51-4. In his paper in the same volume (pp. 115-118, with fig. 1), Renfrew applied his theory of Early State Modules to the then available archaeological data and came up with a map that mirrored the situation found in Homer's Catalogue of Ships. Interestingly, Renfrew noted that one feature of his Peloponnesian map, namely, the fact that all of the five defined territories shared a border in the central Peloponnese, indicated that a state was missing in Arcadia.

²⁵³ See above, Chapter 1, III, c.

²⁵⁴ Yalouris 1989. These frescoes were originally published in Lang 1969, pp. 71-74, nos. 22-30 H64, pls. 16-21, 117, 123-124, A, and M.



**Map 5: The Pylian State
According to Eder
(modified from Eder 2011)**

The myth-history of Messenia as recorded by Pausanias points in the same direction. Pausanias drew on the Hellenistic sources Rhianos and Myron, who both wrote in the mid-third century B.C. and built their narratives around the hero Aristomenes (Paus. 4.6.3-4.). Pausanias' history prior to the wars with Laconia is essentially a rationalization of various strands of myth.²⁵⁵ Messene and Polykaon were said to have founded the royal capital at Andania in the Stenyklaros Plain (Paus. 4.1.2.).²⁵⁶ After the return of the Herakleidai and the coming of the Dorians, Kresphontes, the man who won Messenia by lot, married the Arcadian king Kypselos' daughter Merope. He is said to have transferred the capital from Pylos, whence it had moved from Andania after the rise of Neleus, back to the Stenyklaros Plain. The story goes that Kresphontes was murdered

²⁵⁵ On the problems of reconstructing Messenian history prior to the mid-fourth century see Pearson 1962 and Alcock 1999. On the royal traditions of Messenia, see Drews 1983, pp. 74-78.

²⁵⁶ This story, however, seems to support the Spartan claim to Messenia, for Polykaon is called the son of Lelex, a Laconian hero, while Messene is granddaughter of the Argive Phorbas. See Pearson 1962, p. 407. After some time this line died out, so Perieres, son of Aiolos, was summoned to be king, and he received his cousin Neleus, who founded his city at Pylos. Apollod. 1.9.5 gives Perieres a Spartan origin, which once again reveals tampering in order to justify Spartan claims to the area. We are clearly dealing with distinct traditions later adjusted and artificially stitched together.

by some rich Messenians, and his son Aipytos²⁵⁷ was therefore raised by his Arcadian grandfather, the king of Trapezous.²⁵⁸



Figure 6: View of Mt. Lykaion from Mt. Ithome (photo by author)

What Pausanias tells us next is significant: καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο, οἱ Ἀρκάδες κατάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς Μεσσήνην “and when he became a man the Arcadians brought him back down to Messenia.” This feat was accomplished with the Dorian rulers of the Peloponnese.²⁵⁹ Aipytos ruled and left the kingdom to his son Glaukos. From that point on members of the dynasty were referred to as Aipytidai. It was Glaukos who taught the Dorians to worship at the cult place of Zeus Ithomatas, originally instituted by Polykaon

²⁵⁷ This name appears a number of times in Arcadia. In addition to this character, we know of an Aipytos who was king along the Alpheios until bitten by a snake. His tomb is the one mentioned in Homer (*Il.* 2.604; other sources include Hes. frg. 166 Merkelbach-West; Pi. *Ol.* 6; Paus. 8.4.7, 16.2-3). A third Aipytos, the grandson of his namesake, was the king of Trapezous in Parrhasia who went blind after entering the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios in Mantinea (Paus. 8.5.3, 10.3). This Aipytos was father of Kypselos and great-grandfather of Aipytos, son of Kresphontes. Finally, Pausanias (8.47.4) tells us that Aipytos was a cult-name of Hermes at Tegea. See Visser 1997, p. 236, n. 10.

²⁵⁸ The earliest source is Nikolaos of Damascus (*FGrH* 90 F 31), derived from Ephoros; Luraghi 2008, p. 62.

²⁵⁹ The earliest known version, from Euripides' fragmentary play *Kresphontes*, has Kresphontes' son find asylum in Aetolia and return to take back his father's throne. Isoc. 6.22-23 records a variant wherein the children of Kresphontes flee to Sparta. The latter is obviously tailored to legitimize the Spartan claim to Messenia. The presence of other Heraklids (including the Spartans Eurysthenes and Prokles) in the story about Aipytos' return is suspicious. On these points, see Luraghi 2008, pp. 61-63.

and Messene, the two founders of the Messenian state (Paus. 4.3.6-9.). An Arcadian-Messenian king is thus credited with the re-foundation of the mountain top sanctuary of Zeus inter-visible with the Zeus sanctuary on Mt. Lykaion.²⁶⁰ To this we may add the fact that in Messenian tradition Ithome and Neda were the nurses of Zeus (Paus. 4.33.1-2).²⁶¹

The historicity or date of genesis of these stories cannot be established with accuracy.²⁶² We know that the Aipylos stratum is at least as old as the founding of Messene (Paus. 4.27.6).²⁶³ This would give us a *terminus ante quem* of 369 B.C., but here we run into a problem, for Kypselos' grandfather is said to have ruled from Trapezous.²⁶⁴ During the foundation of Megalopolis, which is best interpreted as a process that lasted from ca. 371-368 B.C.,²⁶⁵ the communities of Lykosoura, Lykaia, Trikolonoi, and Trapezous resisted the synoecism (Paus. 8.27.5-6). Those Trapezountians who survived the resulting backlash left the Peloponnese. It is therefore difficult to see how the story of Kypselos of Trapezous and his grandson Aipylos, king of Messene, originated during the early 360s B.C. For our purposes here, it is of greater interest that these stories highlight the consanguinity of the pre-Dorian Messenians and Arcadians in the discourse of myth-history.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁰ In real time these stories are usually placed after the fall of the Mycenaean palatial centers, but it is interesting to note that, although the Return of the Heraklids is considered to have marked the end of Nelean (i.e. Nestor's) Pylos, nevertheless the ties between southwestern Arcadia and Messenia were considered so strong that the link between them was preserved in the genealogy of the new dynasty. Aipylos is both a newcomer and representative of a more ancient tie between the two regions.

²⁶¹ Larson 2001, pp. 152-153.

²⁶² See Luraghi 2008, ch. 3, for hypotheses.

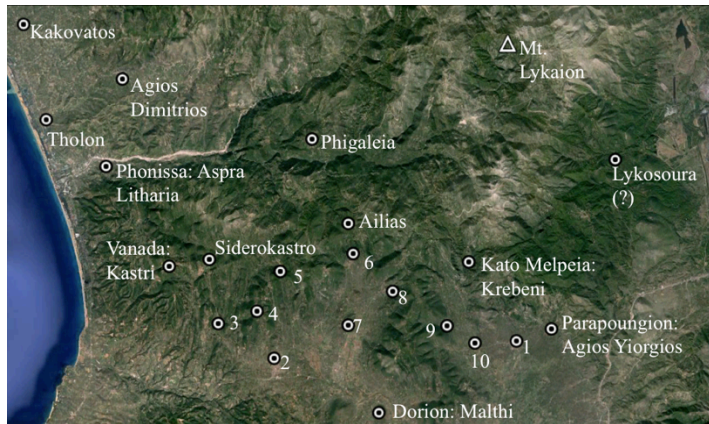
²⁶³ Luraghi 2008, p. 66.

²⁶⁴ Jacoby in *FGrH* IIIB, pp. 43-44.

²⁶⁵ Hornblower 1990, p. 75. See also Appendix VI.

²⁶⁶ Drews 1983, p. 77. Callmer 1943, p. 41 also considers the Arcadians and Messenians to have been related peoples. On this issue, see also Chapter 3, I.

In any event, regardless of the boundaries of the Pylian state, the major Mycenaean presence in northern Messenia and in the area to the west of Mt. Tetrazi is of considerable importance for Mt. Lykaion, for many of these sites are just as close or closer than those that we catalogued in Arcadia.



Map 6: Mycenaean Sites in the Vicinity of Mt. Lykaion (1)

Diavolitsi: Loutsas; 2) Ano Kopanaki: Stylari; 3) Kamari: Mesovouni; 4) Ano Kopanaki: Bafano; 5) Kephlovrysi: Tsoukeda; 6) Chrysochori: Panagia; 7) Dorion: Kondra; 8) Psari: Metsiki; 9) Mandra: Chasna; 10) Agrilovouno: Agios Nikolaos)

The most recent map of Hope Simpson includes four settlements to the west of Tetrazi, and just under the peak to the southwest is the cemetery site of Ailias discussed above.²⁶⁷ In the eastern Kyparissia and Soulima Valleys, just south of Tetrazi along the main route linking the Stenyklarian Plain to the Gulf of Kyparissia, there are 13 settlement sites, three tomb sites, two sites with both settlement and tombs, and four uncategorized sites.²⁶⁸ Of these locations, four are located up along the route northwards to the Neda

²⁶⁷ Hope Simpson 2014, pp. 23, 28, with map 1: sites 21C (Phonissa: Aspra Litharia), 21D (Vanada: Kastri), 21E (Siderokastro: Sphakoulia), 21F (Kephlovrysi: Tsoukeda), and 25A (Chalkias: Ailias).

²⁶⁸ Hope Simpson 2014, p. 28, with maps 1 and 4: sites 23 (Kopanaki: Akourthi), 23A (Kopanaki: Paradami), 23B (Kamari: Mesovouni), 23C (Artiki: Rachi Gourtsia), 23D (Kamari: Gouva), 23F (Ano Kopanaki: Bafano), 24 (Ano Kopanaki: Stylari), 24A (Dorion: Kondra), 24B (Kopanaki: Chalikia), 24C (Aetos: Morlou), 24D (Psari: Metsiki), 24E (Psari: Sintilithi), 25 (Chrysochori: Panagia), 26 (Aetos: Agios Dimitrios (A)), 26A (Aetos: Agios Dimitrios (B)), 26B (Aetos: Palaiokastro), 27 (Vasiliko: "Malthi-Dorion"), 27A (Malthi: Gouves), 27B (Kokla: Rachi Chani), 28 (Vasiliko: Xerovrysi), 28A (Vasiliko: Veizi), 28D (Mila: Profitis Ilias), 28E (Kastro: Kastro tou Mila), 28F (Mila: Romovouni or Lakkathela).

that passes Aīlias.²⁶⁹ In the very northern end of the Pamisos Valley, there are three settlement sites and two settlement-cum-tomb sites, with a final uncategorized site.²⁷⁰ The five categorized sites are all clustered on the southern slopes of Tetrazi, just northwest of the road to the Megalopolis Basin. In this connection, note the remarks of Carothers on Chrysochori: Panagia: “[its] position ... would have allowed it to control traffic moving north from the Soulima valley into eastern Triphylia and western Arcadia.”²⁷¹

Furthermore, the Stenyklarian Plain and Soulima Valley would have provided excellent lowland pastures for shepherds inhabiting the mountains of southwestern Arcadia.²⁷² Equally important and indicative of contact between the two zones are the fords of the Neda below the village of Stasimon and at Stomion, east and west, respectively, of Phigaleia.²⁷³ Anyone travelling from the Soulima Valley, Stenyklarian Plain, or southern Parrhasia to Triphylia, and conversely from Triphylia or northern Parrhasia to Messenia, would have utilized one of these two crossing points.

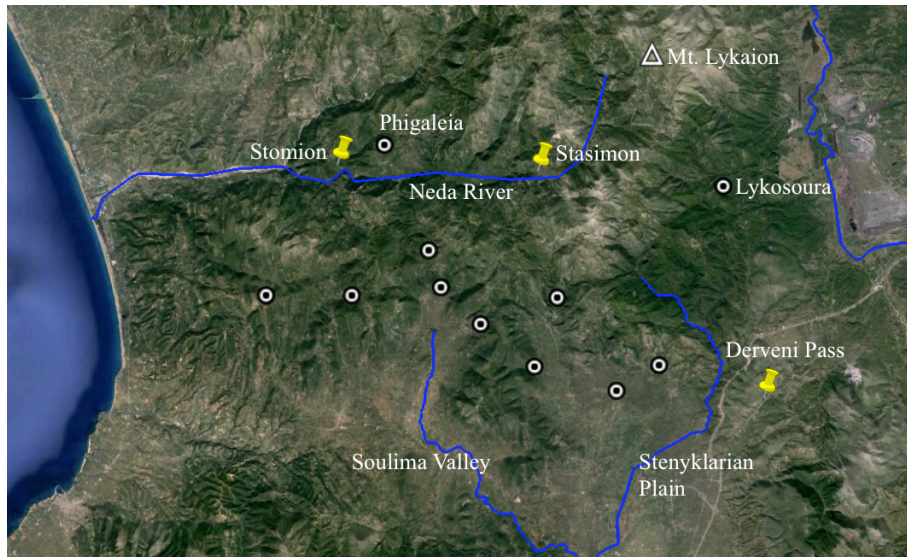
²⁶⁹ These are Dorion: Kondra, Psari: Sintilithi, Psari: Metsiki, and Chysochori: Panagia.

²⁷⁰ Hope Simpson 2014, p. 27, with maps 1 and 5: the sites are 29 (Polichni: Agios Taxiarchos), 30 (Mandra: Chasna), 31 (Kato Melpeia: Krebeni), 31A (Agrilovouno: Agios Nikolaos), 31B (Parapoungion: Agios Yiorgios), 31C (Diavolitsi: Loutsas).

²⁷¹ Carothers 1992, p. 26.

²⁷² Cooper 1996, pp. 44-45 notes that he knew married couples in Phigaleia where one partner was from the village of ancient Andania. The same author reports that modern transhumance practices take Arcadian shepherds to Korone and the Gulf of Kyparissia.

²⁷³ Cooper 1996, pp. 43-44, with fig. 1.



Map 7: Routes from Mesenia to Arcadia and Triphylia, with Late Bronze Age Sites

Later historical considerations can be adduced to support this idea, for the stronghold of Eira, from which the Messenians defended themselves during the Second Messenian War, was located up in this country on the southern bank of the Neda. The site is most probably located at Kakaletri, which perches over the eastern ford of the Neda at Stasimon. After their losses in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., there was much Messenian settlement in Arcadia generally and in the region of Mt. Lykaion particularly. This process continued into the fourth century B.C.²⁷⁴ Although the sources are late and the era is subsequent to the Bronze Age, the stories show how significant the connections between this part of Messenia and the region of Mt. Lykaion can be.²⁷⁵ Indeed, a cup inscribed with the name ΠΑΝΚΑ ΕΥΤΡΕΣΙΟ turned up in a late Archaic context at Vasiliko in the Soulima Valley, just south of Mt. Tetrazi. The ethnic ‘Eutresios’ connects the owner with the Arcadian Eutresians, who lived in the Megalopolis Basin east and

²⁷⁴ Cooper 1996, pp. 57-59.

²⁷⁵ The recent discoveries at Agios Vasileios in Laconia will be of great interest for future study of this chapter’s theme, for the route from Laconia to Messenia or Eleia must go through the Megalopolis Basin.

northeast of the Parrhasians. It is possible that the cup belonged to an Arcadian ally of the Messenians.²⁷⁶

Moving on from geographical considerations, many scholars have argued that the religious practices of historical Arcadia were in certain respects close to those of the Mycenaeans. Sarah Morris, for instance, suggested that Bronze Age ritual traditions may have come along with the Arcadian place names found in the Pylian records.²⁷⁷ Most recently, it has been posited that the use of theriomorphic masks in rituals at the sanctuaries of Despoina, Poseidon Hippios, and Demeter Melaina represent a conscious exploitation of the Mycenaean past.²⁷⁸

The possible prehistoric heritage of the Despoina cult is most significant for Mt. Lykaion.²⁷⁹ Despoina has been interpreted as the historical counterpart of Mycenaean Potnia, a goddess who appears in a variety of contexts in the Linear B documents.²⁸⁰ The Arcadians worshipped Despoina as the daughter of Demeter and Poseidon, and the latter seems to have been a chief – and perhaps *the* chief – divinity of Mycenaean Pylos.²⁸¹ Moreover, Pausanias tells us that Poseidon Hippios had an altar at Lykosoura.²⁸²

²⁷⁶ Pikoulas 1984 (= Pikoulas 2002, pp. 113-124).

²⁷⁷ Morris 2001, p. 433. For an overview of religion in the Mycenaean texts, see the recent review of O’Neil 2014.

²⁷⁸ Gallou 2008.

²⁷⁹ Loucas and Loucas 1988; Gallou 2008, pp. 91-94, 97-98.

²⁸⁰ For the equation of the two names, see Trümpy 2001. On the evidence from Pylos and Knossos, see Chadwick 1957. For a study of the term’s attestations, see van Leuven 1979, although I do not agree with his conclusion that unqualified Potnia is the precursor of Aphrodite. Potnia is also treated in Hiller 2011, pp. 187-189 and Burkert 1985, p. 44. On Despoina, see Jost 1985, pp. 333-334, who thinks that the Lykosoura tradition predates the Eleusinian version of the myth. I thank Prof. M.E. Voyatzis for calling my attention to this last point.

²⁸¹ Hiller 2011, p. 185.

²⁸² 8.37.10. In this context, I find it interesting that we find a *po-]ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja* ‘Horse Potnia’ on PY An 1281; see Hiller 2011, p. 194.

Furthermore, when the Mycenaean shrine came to light on Mt. Lykaion, it was noted that Zeus and Zeus sanctuaries appear in the Linear B records of Knossos, Pylos, Thebes, and Chania.²⁸³ To this we can add the observation that Zeus is the deity most commonly found in Linear B theophoric personal names.²⁸⁴ It would accordingly not be out of place if Zeus was among the earliest divinities worshipped on Mt. Lykaion.

II: *LYK-* in the Pylian Tablets

We have seen that the names Lykaion and Lykaon and the epithet Lykaios all derive from Indo-European **leuk-* ‘to shine,’ and that the juxtaposition of Zeus with Lykaios preserves a very ancient Indo-European conceptualization of the bright sky.²⁸⁵ Given all of the links between Arcadia and the Mycenaean world – in particular its proximity to the northern borders of the Pylian state – it will be interesting to see if there were any similar reflexes in our most ancient texts.²⁸⁶

²⁸³ Romano and Voyatzis 2010a, pp. 13-14; on the importance of Zeus in the Mycenaean texts, see Hiller 2011, p. 185.

²⁸⁴ *Di-wa-jo* (KN V 1523), *di-we-se-ja* (MY Oe 103), *di-we-so* (KN V 60), *di-wi-je-ja* (KN Xd 97), *di-wi-je-u* (PY An 656, Aq 218, Cn 3, Es series), *di-wo* (KN Dv 1503+7183, PY An 172), *di-wo-a-ne* (KN Vc 216), *di-wo-pu-ka-ta* (KN Fp 363), *di-wi-ja-ta* (PY Nn 228), and perhaps *pa-di-jo* (KN Sc 224), *u-po-di-jo-no* (PY Na 105), *we-ka-di-jo* (KN U 4478, V 831), *de-wi-jo* (PY Aq 218, An 519), and *de-u-jo-i* (KN Fh 352); Ilievski 1999, pp. 302-305.

²⁸⁵ Chapter 1, II.

²⁸⁶ In terms of the methodological approach, this kind of thematic analysis has born fruit in the studies of Palaima (on an expanded scale): Palaima 1991 (naval matters) and 1999 (military matters). Cf. a quote from the latter (p. 369): “With this general picture [sc. of Mycenaean militarism], we might ask how prevalent the military *ethos* was among different population groups recorded in the texts. We can make a start at an answer by tracing and nuancing the patterns and contexts of occurrence of names derived from terms related to the sphere of warfare.” On using Mycenaean evidence to study historical religion in different areas of the Greek world, see (once again) Palaima 2009, p. 529: “[g]iven the relative paucity of documentation of ‘religion’ in the Linear B tablets, we should not overlook possible evidence simply because it does not come from the specific region we are studying.”

a. Personal Names

Two Pylian tablets document a man named *Lukoworos* or *Lukowros* (*ru-ko-wo-ro/ru-ko-u-ro*; PY Es 644, 729). He and some other men on associated land-holding tablets formed a sacral college.²⁸⁷ The Arcadian place name Λουκουρία was cited by Ventris and Chadwick to explicate the name, whose alternative spellings argue for a pronunciation *Lukoworos*,²⁸⁸ where the *-u-* of the second spelling must be approximating *-wo-* rather than indicating a diphthong. The name is a compound of *Luko°* and *°woros*, where the second element is an agent noun in *-ός* derived from the same root as *ὄραω* ‘see,’ one of whose stems goes back to **ḡop-/ḡwop-*.²⁸⁹ The first element is usually traced back to Greek *λύκος* ‘wolf,’ so that the name is interpreted as ‘he who guards wolves’ or ‘he who has reverence for wolves.’ Formally speaking, these are both acceptable interpretations.²⁹⁰

I wish to propose an alternative based on formulaic language from Greek epic. In Chapter 1, we saw how Watkins has demonstrated that lexical renewal of a formula is acceptable and does not negate its antiquity.²⁹¹ Given the semantic relationship between

²⁸⁷ De Fidio 1977; Lane 2012b, pp. 66-71.

²⁸⁸ For bibliography and suggested meanings/derivations of *ru-ko-wo-ro/ru-ko-u-ro*, see Aura Jorro 1999, vol. 2, pp. 269-270. On the issues surrounding the structure of the name, see most recently Lane 2012a, pp. 145-146; Melena 2014, pp. 102, 166. A connection with Indo-European **(s)uer-* is usually accepted. For the sake of consistency, in what follows I cite the name as *ru-ko-wo-ro/Lukoworos*. Chadwick and Baumbach 1963, p. 219 favor *Lukoworos*. Other names in *-o-u-ro* are obscure (*si-no-u-ro*, *ma-no-u-ro*, *so-u-ro*). For the scribal context, see Palaima 1988, pp. 50-58 (Hand 1), p. 74 (Hand 11).

²⁸⁹ Frisk 1960, vol. 2, pp. 409-410, s.v. *ὄραω*, p. 1151, s.v. *ὄρα*; Chantraine 1999, pp. 813-815, s.v. *ὄραω*, p. 1304, s.v. *ὄρα*; Beekes 2010, pp. 1095-1096, s.v. *ὄραω*, p. 1682, s.v. *ὄρα*.

²⁹⁰ Papanastassiou 1994, p. 23, s.v. *λύκος* suggests “qui surveille les loups,” while Leukart 1994, p. 93 interprets the name “der nach Wölfen Frommschau hält.” García Ramón 2012, p. 155, n. 20 acknowledges a sense of ‘reverence’ (“mirar con respeto”). Lane 2012a, pp. 145-146 argues for “warding off wolves” (based on his analysis of *wo-wo /wórwos/*, “guarding, guarded place, place for guards”) or “wolf guardian.”

²⁹¹ Chapter 1, II, d.

‘light’ and ‘see,’ the name could originally have meant ‘who sees light.’ The existence of compositional suffixes (in this case, *Luk-o-woros*) in Mycenaean Greek is disputed, but recently Meissner and Tribulato have argued in favor of the compositional vowel -o- in compounds where the first element is an α -stem noun (here, *λύκα).²⁹² A semantic parallel for my interpretation that includes the second element is found in the Homeric phrase ὁρᾶν φάος ηελίοιο²⁹³ ‘to see the light of the sun,’ a poetic way of saying ‘to be alive.’²⁹⁴ Accordingly, I suggest that the Homeric formula continues the same concept found in the Mycenaean name, with lexical renewal of the more obscure root λυκ- ‘light’ with the regular Greek word for the same concept, φάος.

Note also Homeric λεύσσω ‘to see,’ which has been identified as an Arcadianism.²⁹⁵ This verb builds upon the e-grade of *LYK-* in order to express the concept of seeing, and it would therefore bear a certain resemblance to *ru-ko-wo-ro* if the latter means ‘who sees light.’ It is even possible that the historical name Λυκωρίς (fem.), the mythological Λύκωρος, son of Apollo and founder of Lykoreia on Mt. Parnassos, and Lycorias (a Nereid known from Vergil’s *Georgics*) are ultimately derived from this

²⁹² Meissner and Tribulato 2002, pp. 320-324; cf. *ko-to-no-o-ko* /*ktoinohokhos*/ < *ktoina* + *hokhos*.

²⁹³ *Il.* 5.120 (ὄψεσθαι λαμπρὸν φάος ηελίοιο, where λαμπρὸν ‘shiny, bright’ qualifies φάος; cf. the meaning of **leuk-*, ‘bright, to shine, to see’), 18.61, 18.442, 24.558, *Od.* 4.540, 4.833, 10.498, 14.44, 20.207. Cf. also *Il.* 14.344-345: οὐδ’ ἂν νῶϊ διαδράκοι **Ἡέλιός** περ, / οὐ τε καὶ ὀξύτατον πέλεται **φάος εἰσοράσθαι** (“Not even Helios would see the two of us, although his light is the sharpest of all for seeing”), and Hes. *Th.* 450-451 on Hekate: θῆκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης κουροτρόφον, οἱ μετ’ ἐκείνην / ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοντο φάος πολυδερκέος Ἡοῦς. Later analogous usage is found at Aesch. *Pers.* 299: Ξέρξης μὲν αὐτὸς ζῆι τε καὶ βλέπει φάος; Eur. *Hel.* 60: ἔως μὲν οὖν φῶς ἡλίου τόδ’ ἔβλεπεν Πρωτεύς; Eur. *Hec.* 668: δέσποιν’, ὀλωλας κοῦκετ’ εἰ βλέπουσα φῶς.

²⁹⁴ *LSJ*, s.v. ἥλιος and Autenreith, s.v. ὁράω. Note once again the presence of the sun (καὶ ταύτην εἶδεν ὁ ἥλιος πρώτην) in Pausanias’ description of Lykosoura (8.38.1). The usefulness of Homeric data for explicating obscure Mycenaean names is well illustrated in García Ramón 2009, where the author utilizes, *inter alia*, Homeric phraseology to interpret the name *pu-ke-qi-ri* as /*P^hugeg^wri(n)s*/ “who escapes/d the HEAVY spear” or “HEAVY, evil misfortune” or “the HEAVY enemy” or “the stone.” On Mycenaean names, see also Bartoněk 2003, pp. 399-429 and García Ramón 2011.

²⁹⁵ Bowra 1926, pp. 173, 175; Palmer 1980, p. 85. Cf. the already mentioned Pylian place name *re-u-ko-to-ro* /*Leuktron*/, ‘look-out point’; Lane 2012a, p. 151 n. 181.

prototype. Λυκωρίς is known only in Arcadia (*IG* V, 2.233) and Calabria. Indo-European parallels for personal names in **leuk-* are found in the Latin praenomen *Lūcius*, Gaulish *Leucus*, and perhaps Cimmerian *Lygdamis* and the Celtic god *Lugus* (Irish *Lug*), from whom are derived the personal names *Lucudeca* (Gaulish) and *Lugudeccas* (Irish Ogham; Old Irish *Lugaid*).²⁹⁶

This analysis has at least as much validity as that which would derive the name from the wolf, and I suggest it is in fact more probable. The large number of theriophoric names linked with the wolf in alphabetic Greek²⁹⁷ would perhaps prompt us to expect its presence in Linear B onomastics. If we exclude *ru-ko-wo-ro* and *ru-ko-ro*,²⁹⁸ however, we are left with only *ru-ko*, which can be equated with either Λύκος or Λύκων.²⁹⁹ There may be no great significance in the lack of wolf names attested in Linear B, but at least we can say that there is no *a fortiori* reason to interpret *ru-k-* sequences as referring to λύκος ‘wolf.’³⁰⁰ My interpretation is supported by another personal name from the Pylian archive: there is an important official with the name *ro-u-ko*, which can only be

²⁹⁶ De Vaan 2008, pp. 355-356, s.v. *lūx*. For the Cimmerian name *Lygdamis*, see Mayor, Colarusso, and Saunders 2014, p. 453. On *Lugus/Lug*: MacKillop 2004, s.v. *Lug Lámfhota*, and Matasović 2009, pp. 245-246, s.v. **lowko-*, p. 248, s.v. **Lugu-*; Puhvel 1987, p. 187 is skeptical about *Lug*’s association with **leuk-*.

²⁹⁷ I list the following from Pape and Benseler 1911, pp. 822-827: Λυκῖνος, Λύκιον, Λύκις, Λυκίσκα, Λύκισκος, Λυκοδόρκας, Λυκοθέρης, Λυκοκτόνος, Λυκόλας, Λυκολέων, Λυκομηδείδης, Λυκομήδης, Λυκόοργος/Λυκόεργος/Λυκοῦργος, Λυκόρμας, Λυκόρτας, Λύκος, Λυκόστρατος, Λύκουτος, Λυκοφόντης, Λυκοφρονίδης, Λυκόφρων, Λύκωμος, Λύκων, Λυκώνη, Λυκωνίδης, Λυκώπας, Λυκώπις, Λυκῶπις, Λυκῶτας. It should be noted that not all of these are very common, but the names Λυκῖνος, Λύκισκος, Λυκομήδης, Λύκος, Λυκοῦργος, Λυκόφρων, and Λύκων show up rather more frequently. There are in addition names like Αὐτόλυκος, Ἐπίλυκος, Ἀρπάλυκος. On these, see Bechtel 1917, pp. 288-289. We should not dismiss the possibility that some of these names continue earlier ones derived from *LYK-* ‘light’ that were later reinterpreted or merged with wolf names. Note that in Bartoněk 2003, pp. 356-357 the wolf is absent from the list of animals (“*Tierwelt*”) present in the Mycenaean lexicon. See also p. 404, where the wolf is absent from the list of personal names.

²⁹⁸ Aura Jorro 1999, vol. 2, p. 269; it probably represents *Lugros*, although *Lukoros* technically works as well.

²⁹⁹ PY Pn 30.

³⁰⁰ This should come as no great surprise, given the fact that horse names with ἵππος, so frequent in the alphabetic period, are entirely absent in Mycenaean; Clackson 2000, pp. 445-446.

realized as *Loukos*. *Loukos* also derives from the Indo-European root **leuk-*, but here it shows the o-grade, with *-o-* before the *-u-*, a category which is generally absent from alphabetic Greek. *Loukos* thus demonstrates that this root was in wider use in earlier phases of the Greek language.³⁰¹

In sum, onomastic evidence from Pylos indicates that Indo-European **leuk-* was used in the formation of personal names, and we see the same thing in mythological names from Mt. Lykaion, such as in the case of Lykaon, his son Lykios (Apollod. 3.8), and the epithet Lykaios. There is no reason to derive one from the other, but it is conceivable that here we have yet another shared feature between Mycenaean Greece and the historical Arcadians. Similarly, the name *Lukios* (*ru-ki-jo*; PY Gn 720, Jn 415) shows up twice at Pylos. The name is rare in historical times, but two instances are known from Arcadia: Lykios of Thelphousa and Lykios of Tegea (*IG* V, 2.1, 11, to which we may add the mythological son of Lykaon). The Indo-European parallels indicate that the naming convention is prehistoric, which should not surprise us given our previous discussion of Zeus Lykaios' name.

b. Place Names

There is also a place name from the Pylian records that offers an intriguing parallel with the toponymy of the Lykaion region. The name in question is expressed in standard transcription from Linear B as *ru-ko-a₂-ke-re-u-te*, but can be regularized in the nominative as **Lukohagreus*. From the moment of decipherment Arcadian parallels were

³⁰¹ Aura Jorro 1999, vol. 2, pp. 262-263. For other names with Indo-European **leuk-*, cf. *re-u-ko* /*Leukos*/, *re-u-ko-ro-o-pu₂-ru* /*Leuk(r)ophrus*/, *re-u-ka-ta-ra-ja* /*Leuktraia*/, *re-u-ko-to* /*Leuk(o)tos*. For these and other uses of *leuk-* in Mycenaean, see Aura Jorro, vol. 2, pp. 243-246.

suggested, notably Lykoa and Lykosoura.³⁰² In **Lukohagreus* we are dealing with a type of compound found at least two and possibly three more times at Pylos, where a genitive first element is followed by a nominative second element derived from the word ἄγρός, which referred to uncultivated and wild areas.³⁰³ The name thus means ‘uncultivated district of *Lykoh-*,’ to which we shall return shortly. Linear B places named in this manner were probably used for grazing herds,³⁰⁴ and **Lukohagreus* further interested the palatial administration at Pylos because it served as the station for 12 bronze-smiths. The relevant text reads as follows:

PY Jn 415³⁰⁵

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| .1 | ru-ko-a₂-ke-re-u-te | , ka-ke-we | , ta-ra-si-ja | , e-ko-te |
| .2 | re-u-ko-<ro>-o-pu ₂ -ru | AES M 5 | a ₃ -ta-ro | AES M 5 |
| .3 | wi-du-wo-i-jo | AES M 5 | ke-ti-ro | AES M 5 |
| .4 | a-me-no | AES M 5 | pa-pu-so | AES M 5 |
| .5 | a-ka-ša-no | AES M 4 | | |
| .6 | | <i>vacat</i> | | |
| .7 |]to-so-de [] | ka-ko | AES [[]] | L 1 M 4 |
| .8 |] | <i>vacat</i> | | |
| .9 | to-so-]de | , a-ta-ra-si-jo | , ka-ķe-we | [] v. |

³⁰² Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 149; Ilievski 1959, p. 122, n. 41. Vermeule 1957, p. 199 noted a similarity with the ‘wood of Lykos’ mentioned by Pausanias (4.1.6: Λύκου δρυμὸν) in his description of Andania; see Chapter 2, V.

³⁰³ Ilievski 1987, pp. 151-162; Palaima 2014, pp. 97-98. Formally speaking, a derivation from ἄκρος/ἄκρης ‘high point, edge’ is also possible, although less likely; Lane 2012a, pp. 183. For other names where a genitive first element precedes a nominative second element, cf. *Ke-ra-ti-jo-jo wo-wo*; *wa-no-jo*, *wo-wo*; *ka-pe-se-wa-o*, *wo-wo*; *o-re-e-wo*, *wo-wo*; *re-qa-se-wo*, *wo-wo*; *mo-ro-ko-wo-wo-pi*; *u-po-di-jo-no wo-wo*; *e-u-ta-re-wo wo-wo*; *me-ka-o-wo-wo*; *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja*; *ne-wo-ki-to*, *wo-wi-ja*; *ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja*. These are normally interpreted as Name/Designation + *worwos/worwia* ‘boundary/boundaries’; see Lane 2012a for an alternative. Cf. also *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e/ti-mi-to a-ke-e*, nom. /*Tirminthōn ankos*/, ‘Glen of the Terebinth Trees’ (Palaima 2000) and *pa-ka-a-ka-ri*, perhaps /*Pagas akris*/ ‘Hill of the Spring’ (Aura Jorro 1999, vol. 2, pp. 70).

³⁰⁴ Palaima 2014, pp. 97-98.

³⁰⁵ Transcription from Bennett and Olivier 1973. Lejeune 1958, pp. 163-164, n. 17, p. 294, n. 46 argues that *-te* in *ru-ko-a₂-ke-re-u-te* more likely represents locative -θει. Hajnal 1995, p. 211 sees the suffix *-te* as functionally separative, with the phrase *ru-ko-a₂-ķe-re-u-te*, *ka-ke-we*, *ta-ra-si-ja*, *e-ko-te* meaning something like ‘the smiths from **ru-ko-a₂-ķe-re-u* who have *ta-ra-si-ja*.’ We are presented with the same *context* on either interpretation: the smiths are located at *ru-ko-a₂-ķe-re-u-te*; they have not been summoned to Pylos.

- .10]me-no 1 na-wa-to 1 [●]-te-re-ro 1 [] v.
 .11 **ru-ki-jo** 1 a-na-te-u 1 []vac.[] v.
 .12 *vacat*
 .13 *vacat*

In addition to these clues about the nature of the place, we fortunately have some indication of where **Lukohagreus* was located. It formed part of a larger bronze-working industry of the district called **Piswa* (*pi*-*82),³⁰⁶ which, as we saw in the previous section, was situated in the northernmost part of the Pylian state, either in the mountains west of Tetrazi and including part of the Neda river, or perhaps across the Neda in historical Triphylia.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁶ Smith 1995, pp. 190-191. Smith determined that the smiths of *ru-ko-a₂-ke-re-u-te* were part of a sub-group headed by the *qa-si-re-u* /*g^wasileus*/ (= alphabetic βασιλεύς) *a-pi-qo-ta* /*Amphik^wotas*/. The other places associated with this group were *a-pe-ke-e*, *a-ka-si-jo-ne*, *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-u*, and *wi-ja-we-ra₂*. Of these locations, only *wi-ja-we-ra₂* can be assigned to a general region, for on Cn 643 and 719 it is listed in connection with *pi*-*82. Sainer 1976, pp. 50-51 places *pi*-*82 at the prehistoric site of Dorion: Malthi, on the southern side of the valley under Mt. Tetrazi; Bennet 1998-1999, pp. 18-20 localizes the boundary between the two provinces at the northern end of Aigaleon, with all sites in the Kyparissia-Soulima Valley in the Further Province. *Pi*-*82 and *me-ta-pa*, however, have to be squeezed in to the north at or above this line, extending north-south along the coast from the Neda to the extreme west of the Kyparissia Valley; Eder 2011, p. 117, pl. 5 locates *pi*-*82 in the area of the Kaiapha Mountains, north of the Neda; Hope Simpson 2014, p. 61 locates the territory of *pi*-*82 in the vicinity of Siderokastro, Vanada, and Kephallavrysi. In general, most (including myself) would follow Chadwick in placing *pi*-*82 inland in the vicinity of the Kyparissia-Soulima Valley and the mountains to the north, for certain tablets make it clear that this place was connected to both the Hither and Further Provinces of the Pylian state (see above, n. 248).

³⁰⁷ Further evidence for the localization of *ru-ko-a₂-ke-re-u-te*: *a-ka-ma-wo*, a smith at *a-pe-ke-e*, appears as a shepherd at *pi*-*82 and *wi-ja-we-ra₂*. This further supports the idea that *a-pi-qo-ta*'s sub-group belongs in the vicinity of *pi*-*82. *E-do-me-ne-u* is another smith/shepherd with activities at *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*, *pa-ki-ja-ne*, and *da-we-u-pi*. *A-pi-no-e-wi-jo* is listed with *me-ta-pa*, which implies a location in the north. *Mo-re-u* is a smith working at *a-ka-si-jo-ne*, *a-pe-ke-e*, and *a-si-ja-ti-ja*. The first two places are part of *a-pi-qo-ta*'s group, and *a-si-ja-ti-ja* is located in the center-west of the Further Province, with which *pi*-*82 was connected. The only smith in our sub-group with known associations in the southern Hither Province is *we-we-si-jo*, who is found both at *a-pe-ke-e* and at *e-ni-pa-te-we*. In any case, the associations linking *wi-ja-we-ra₂* and *a-pe-ke-e* with *pi*-*82 suggest that the other three places are in the same general area. *O-re-mo-a-ke-re-u* tells a similar story, for its smith *ku-pi-ri-jo* is found at *pi*-*82 on Cn 131 and Cn 719, while *a-ti-pa-mo* is at *a-si-ja-ti-ja* on Jn 750 and *do-ro-jo* is at *u-po-a-ki-ri-ja* on Cn 45. *U-po-a-ki-ri-ja* is, according to Sainer 1976, p. 59, another Further Province place. On the prosopography of smiths at Pylos, see Nakassis 2013, pp. 74-103; on *a-ka-ma-wo*, p. 194, no. 25; on *a-ti-pa-mo*, p. 217, no. 109; on *do-ro-jo*, p. 236, no. 183; on *e-do-me-ne-u*, p. 241, no. 193; on *ku-pi-ri-jo*, pp. 300-301, no. 445; on *mo-re-u*, p. 315, no.

The place was, accordingly, generally proximal to southwestern Arcadia and Mt. Lykaion. The phonology of the name can help us understand what it meant. The Linear B sign labeled *a*₂ represents aspirated *a*, the syllable *ha*.³⁰⁸ Now, the second element of our compound has already been traced back to ἄγρός, which has no initial aspiration. Thus, the aspiration in **Lukohagreus* comes from the compound's first element, *Lukoh-*. We have already noted that we are dealing with a genitive, and our genitive therefore must have originally ended in *-s*, for in prehistoric Greek **-s-* turned into the aspirate when between two vowels.³⁰⁹ The original form of the word was accordingly *Lukós*, which came from a root noun formed by adding *-s* directly to the root. For the first element of **Lukohagreus* we thus get **Lúk+s*, which would be parallel to, for example, γλαῶξ, γλαυκός. Such root nouns are from a particularly ancient stratum in Greek and Indo-European more generally, and Greek gradually replaced them with thematic nouns in alpha or omicron.³¹⁰ Our posited ancient root noun **Lúks* must refer to 'light,' as its cognates in the other Indo-European languages do.³¹¹

507; on *we-we-si-jo*, p. 405, no. 924. *A-pi-qo-ta* appears on An 261 and Un 616 as head of a *ke-ro-si-ja* /*geronsia*/ (= alphabetic γερονσία), a craft association; Nakassis 2013, pp. 92-93, 209, no. 78.

³⁰⁸ This premise is challenged by Melena 2013, pp. 224-226 and 2014, pp. 74-75, who argues that *-a*₂ marks the compound boundary when the second member begins with *-a-*. In 2014, however, he does not exclude the situation endorsed in the current study, which is otherwise generally agreed upon. Interestingly, in 2013, p. 224 he cites *Lykosoura* as a possible parallel.

³⁰⁹ Lejeune 1972, pp. 94-99; Colvin 2006.

³¹⁰ Chantraine 1933, pp. 1-5; Palmer 1980, p. 247.

³¹¹ This interpretation of **Lukohagreus* goes back to Gallavotti 1956, p. 16. For Indo-European parallels: Hittite *lukk-* (< **leuk-to*; **léuk-t* / **luk-ént*; **luk-jé/ó-*) 'to get light, to light up, to dawn,' which the Chicago Hittite Dictionary qualifies in the following way: "confined to describing the faint but growing sunlight in the atmosphere at dawn just before the sun rises"; quoted in Kloekhorst 2008, s.v. *lukk-*). The zero-grade is also known from Tocharian B: *lak_(u)tse* (adj.) 'shining, bright, brilliant' and the derived noun *läktsauña* 'light, lamp,' with perlativ *läk_(u)tsauwñaiysa* (Ringe 1988, p. 82; Adams 2013, s.v. *lak_(u)tse*, ¹*luk-*) and Sanskrit *roca* and *divoruc-*.

On my hypothesis, **Lukohagreus* means ‘the uncultivated area of light.’³¹² There are once again Indo-European parallels that demonstrate how this language family has a penchant for naming uncultivated and/or sacred areas with derivatives of the root in question. The Sanskrit word for the world and its planes of existence, *lōka*, and Latin *lūcus*, ‘sacred grove,’ for instance, are both derived from a variant of the same root, and the parallels extend to Baltic, Slavic, and Germanic.³¹³

³¹² Lejeune 1971, p. 372 suggested *λυγκὸς ἀγρός* ‘field of the lynx’ and *λυκὸς ἀγρός* ‘field of ransom.’ The former is often endorsed by scholars, but, in contrast to the sizeable number of toponyms in (or other associations with) *LYK-*, there are no historical places named for the lynx in the southwestern Peloponnese. The closest place name derived from this animal was found on the other side of the Peloponnese at Lyrkeia, a town around 60 stades from Argos. Pausanias (2.25.4-5; also Str. 8.6.7 and Hsch., s.v.) informs us that the place was named after Lynkeus, husband of Hypermnestra, who fled there to avoid slaughter. Thus, the place was not actually named for the animal, but rather for a man; cf. the Pylian place name *ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja*, probably */Lunkewos worwia/*, the ‘Boundaries of Lynkeus,’ but we cannot exclude */Lukewos worwia/*, the ‘Boundaries of Lykeus,’ of interest for our Mycenaean *LYK-* personal names; Aura Jorro 1999, vol. 2, p. 266. Mt. Lyrkeion is nearby Lyrkeia, on the border with Arcadia (Ap. Rhod. 1.125 with schol.; Str. 6.2.4; Plut. *de Fluviis* 18.10; Hsch., s.v.). There was an associated tribe of Lynkeidai in Argos, and in the north we have a town Lynkos in Epirus and the Lynkestai tribe in Macedonia; Lockwood 1994, pp. 42-43. The parallel formations in Linear B, moreover, do not support the combination of the second element with animal names: *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-u* has been associated with alphabetic ἐρημος ‘desolate, lonely, solitary,’ *pu₂-ra₂-a-ke-re-u* with φυλία ‘wild olive,’ and *a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-jo* with ἀκή ‘healing,’ ἀκή ‘silence,’ and ἄγιος, ἄγιος ‘sacred, holy.’ We do in fact have Pylian place names formed from animal names, but they are generally more descriptive of the landscape, as they often are in historical Greek: PY Na 1038, *ku-[no-ka-ra-o-re* or *o-[no-ka-ra-o-re*, where either κυνός ‘dog’ (Bartoněk 2003, p. 425) or ὄνος ‘donkey’ is construed with κάπ ‘head,’ and PY MN 1412, *o-no-ka-ra-*, where we have ‘Donkeys’ Heads’ or ‘Donkey Head’; Chadwick and Baumbach 1963, pp. 208, 215, 226; Aura Jorro 1999, vol. 1, p. 477, vol. 2, p. 28. Note also *e-ra-po ri-me-ne /Elaphōn Limen/*, ‘Harbor of the Deer’; Aura Jorro 1999, vol. 1, pp. 234-235. Also in support of **Lukohagreus* is the fact that a man named *Lukios* lived there; his name could be an ethnic.

³¹³ On Latin *lūcus* and Old English *lēah*, see de Vaan 2008, p. 250, s.v. *lūcus*; Watkins 2000, p. 49, s.v. *leuk-*; Adams and Mallory 1997, p. 513, s.v. *shine*; *OED*, s.v. *lea*, which also adduces Old High German *lōh* and Lithuanian *laukas*. The words are from Proto-Indo-European o-grade **louk-o-* ‘light place,’ as is Sanskrit *loka*; Mayrhofer 1976, s.v. *lokah*, on which note Soifer 1991, pp. 51-54. Cf. the quote (p. 51): “The most common conception of lokas in the Veda was that of the trailokya or triple world: three worlds consisting of earth, atmosphere or sky, and heaven, making up the universe. The vault (nāka) of the sky was regarded as the boundary between the visible upper world and the invisible heaven, abode of light and dwelling place of the gods.” It is of interest that we find o-grade in the other Indo-European examples, while in Greek we have the zero-grade. In this connection, note that Frisk 1960, vol. 2, p. 148, s.v. *λύχνος* explains the fact that Greek alone exhibits the zero-grade in this case as well, perhaps due to the avoidance of ou-diphthongs in Greek.



**Map 8: LYK- in
Southwestern Arcadia,
Northern Messenia, and
Triphylia**

Lykaion adds a Greek parallel not far to the east of **Lukohagreus*. The fact that names of this kind appear frequently in southern and southwestern Arcadia seems to imply that it formed part of a local onomastic tradition, which extended into northern Messenia and perhaps Triphylia as well. We have the following places in and around Mt. Lykaion: the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios, Lykosoura, Lykoa/Lykaia on the northern part of the mountain, the Oak-wood of Lykos near Andania,³¹⁴ and the tomb of Lykourgos and sanctuary of Zeus Leukaíos at Lepreon. A bit further afield but still in southern Arcadia is the sanctuary of Artemis Lykoatis, in the vicinity of which was a place called Lykoa.³¹⁵ In northern Arcadia there were settlements called Lykouria and Lykountes.³¹⁶

³¹⁴ Chapter 2, V.

³¹⁵ The Finns have recently identified the temple of Artemis Lykoatis at Arachmites: Agia Paraskevi, where, interestingly, Artemis was worshipped with Despoina. Forsén has argued that this sanctuary was

We should note again Pausanias' record of the Arcadian tradition that Lykosoura was the first city seen by the sun, which explicitly connects an *LYK*- toponym with light.³¹⁷

Accordingly, this place **Lukohagreus*, which was located somewhere up in the mountains proximal to the Neda, seems to reflect the same idea that we find in the name of Zeus Lykaïos, his sacred mountain, and a number of other places in the vicinity. We could agree with earlier scholars and maintain that this onomastic tradition was brought up into the mountains by refugees, but in this case the proximity suggests that from a very early date a penchant for naming places with this *LYK*- root was shared by the mountainous region intersected by the Neda, Alpheios, and Pamisos rivers. Stefan Hiller has even proposed that Pylian place names with the element ἄγρός imply the existence of

connected with the Mainalian Games (I-MTL 22) and the myth of Lykaon, Arkas, and Kallisto. Artemis Lykoatis, he suggests, may have something to do with Artemis' role in this myth. See Chapter 3, II, b.

³¹⁶ *LYK*- is found in a much smaller numbers elsewhere: in Arcadia itself Zeus and Pan Lykaïos were worshipped at Tegea (Lykeios for Pan, see I-MTL 18; the phenomenon is linguistic: certainly this is Pan Lykaïos); on the border of Arcadia and the Argolid was a mountain called Lykone; at Nemea was a tomb of Lykourgos, father of Opheltes; in Sparta Lykourgos the Lawgiver was worshipped; near Sikyon was a tomb of Lykos, significantly a Messenian and therefore probably derived from our Oak-wood; in Crete we have Lyktos and Lykastos; in Attica the mountain Lykabettos; the peak of Parnassos was known as Lykoreia, which was also the name of a town; in Aetolia there was a Lykormas river; towns called Lykozeia and Lykone are known in Thrace; a town called Lyke was in Macedonia near Lake Prespa.

³¹⁷ The etymology of Lykosoura is obscure. We know it in two forms: Λυκόσουρα and the ethnic adjective Λυκουράσιοι, which is found on site. The latter would demand a form **Λυκῶρα* in the Arcadian dialect. Folk etymology and pressure from formations like Κυνόσουρα have resulted in Λυκόσουρα, which should not have nominative + nominative (cf. Αἰγὸς Ποταμός, Κυνοσκεφαλαί, Κυνόσσημα, Κυνόσαργες, Κάπρου σῆμα). We can only guess at the original name, but we could get to **Λυκῶρα* from **Λυκὸς* + **φορά* '[a place] of seeing light' (cf. φρουρά 'look out, watch, guard' < προ-**φορά*), which would correspond well with the tradition recorded by Pausanias. It would also match our interpretation of Mycenaean *Lukoworos*. Under the known sound changes (the prehistoric first compensatory lengthening followed by contraction), the name would have proceeded **Λυκοσφορα* > **Λυκοσφορα* > **Λυκῶ-ορα* > **Λυκῶρα*, and we could understand how folk etymology would have encouraged the formation of Lykosoura during the early stages of the process. In any case, we cannot be certain, but I submit that the name is closely related to Mycenaean **Lukohagreus*, in that both were formed with the same first element, genitive of the root noun **Lúks*. For scholarship on the various issues involved, see Thumb 1893; Usener 1896, pp. 208-209, n. 96; Schwyzler 1939, pp. 226-227, 304; Risch 1945, p. 23, with n. 16; Lejeune 1972, pp. 133-136; Dubois 1988, pp. 288-290; Probert 2006, p. 295; Parker 2008, pp. 450-455; Miller 2014, pp. 256-257.

open-air sanctuaries.³¹⁸ If this is the case, the parallel with Mt. Lykaion – a remote spot with an open-air ash altar where the god of the bright sky was worshipped, located in an area used for pastoral activities – is even more suggestive.

This idea finds support when we analyze the other names of this kind in the Pylian archive. Two more of these places seem to have been named for cults in the territory acquired by Mycenaean Pylos. *Pu₂-ra₂-a-ke-re-u* and its variant *pu₂-ra₂-a-ki-ri-jo* are associated with alphabetic φυλία ‘wild olive tree,’ so that the name means ‘uncultivated area of the wild olive tree.’ Tree cults are thought to have been important during the Aegean Bronze Age, and the wild olive was sacred in Greek antiquity.³¹⁹ The first element in *a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-jo/a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-ja-jo* has been interpreted as ἀκή ‘healing,’ which would certainly imply a cultic context.³²⁰ *O-re-mo-a-ke-re-u* may be connected with alphabetic ἐρημός, ‘wilderness,’ the area inhabited by gods like Pan, although the identification is not certain.³²¹ We also have *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro* /*Lousios agros*/ (PY 1220, Un 47, Vn 10, Ua 1413) and *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro* /*Sphagianios agros*/ (PY Fr 1236), used to describe territory around the important places *ro-u-so* and *pa-ki-ja-ne*. *Pa-ki-ja-ne*

³¹⁸ Hiller 2011, p. 197; see also the remarks of Palaima 2014, pp. 98-99.

³¹⁹ Kourou 2001; Birge 1994. At Hom. *Od.* 5.474-493, Odysseus finds shelter under a wild olive tree (φυλίας) that was miraculously growing intertwined with a cultivated olive tree (ἐλαίης). There was a sacred wild-olive tree (κότινος) in the Altis at the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, from which the victory crowns were made (Thphr. *HP* 4.13.2; Paus. 5.15.3). Paus. 2.31.10 says that Heracles’s club was made from the κότινος. Similarly, the place name mentioned earlier, **ti-mi-to-a-ko* /*Tirminthōn ankos*/ ‘Glen of the Terebinth Trees,’ may be connected with reverence for trees.

³²⁰ Lejeune 1971, p. 372, with n. 45, where ἀκή ‘silence’ is also proposed. Lane 2012a, p. 179 similarly suggests ἄγιος, ἅγιος ‘sacred, holy.’ Cf. Paus. 8.34.1-3, which speaks of a sanctuary of *Ake* (‘healing’) seven stades from Megalopolis on the road to Messene. Jost 1985, pp. 187-188 suggests that it existed before the Orestes myth was incorporated into the area in the fifth century B.C.

³²¹ Aura Jorro 1999, vol. 2, pp. 47-48.

was the major cult center of Pylos, and the name derives from σφάγιον ‘victim, offering, sacrifice,’ which once again places us in the realm of cult.³²²

Applying Wright’s model to this data will help us to understand how the palace center interacted with these regions. The name of *Sphagianios agros* is of course closely associated with the palace religion, as this is where the major religious ceremonies, such as the initiation of the *wanax*, took place (PY Un 2). *Pa-ki-ja-ne* was located close to the modern village of Chora, and the series of chamber tombs at Volimidia may have been its focal point.³²³ *Pa-ki-ja-ne* was thus in the immediate vicinity of the palace. The use of ἄγρός in *Sphagianios agros* thus reveals an elite linguistic strategy employed to mark out the territory under palatial control.³²⁴ This gives added meaning to the ἄγρός element in our place names **Lukohagreus*, *Phulyahagreus*, *Hakahagrios*, and *o-re-me-a-ke-re-u*: it derives from the organizing mindset of the palace administrators. By contrast, the first element in each of these compounds most probably represents what the local population called the districts in question.³²⁵ *O-re-mo-a-ke-re-u* was in the same area as **Lukohagreus*.³²⁶ Unfortunately, the exact locations of *Phulyagreus* and *Hakahagrios* are unknown, although the latter is once linked with the Nedon river in the Further Province (PY An 661).

³²² Palaima 2008, p. 349.

³²³ Chadwick 1972, p. 109.

³²⁴ Cf. Derrida’s concept of naming as “originary violence.” Note also Dawes’s thoughts on the matter: “[n]aming is a strategy that one deploys in power relations”; names “institute violent binaries”; “[n]aming is authority’s attempt to categorize and control difference.” Quotes from Palaima 2014, p. 93.

³²⁵ Compare, for example, the historical Greek name for Persian capital of Parsa, *Persepolis*, or the English city of Manchester, which goes back to a post-Roman conquest name, where the Latin ending in *-castrum* was added to a local Celtic name; Mills 2011, s.v. Manchester. Indeed, we do something similar when we refer to areas as Chinatown or Germantown, although this is usually done in response to an influx of immigrants to the same area.

³²⁶ See above, nn. 306-307.

Accordingly, at least two of these places were located far to the north of the palace at Pylos, up in the region towards the Neda. A third may have been in the vicinity of the eastern part of the Further Province. We can hypothesize that, as Pylos acquired more and more territory, its administrators became acquainted with people living further and further afield. Some of these people designated their home regions with reference to religious priorities, in one case light, in the others the wild olive and healing. The palatial officials adapted these toponyms with the addition of their own term for uncultivated territory, a way of mentally organizing the world under their control. But at the same time they were forced to acknowledge the local traditions of these outlying regions. If Wright is correct in his analysis of the cult centers at the palace, which were meant to give “an official sanction” to religious life of the territories under palatial control,³²⁷ we can plausibly submit that ideas such as rural healing shrines, wild tree cults, and sacred associations with light and the bright sky were among the concepts that they incorporated into their cult centers. This is of course merely a hypothesis, but it offers a possible avenue for extending models such as Wright’s beyond the physical remains left behind by archaeology.

We thus have a place name in the Pylian archive that resembles the name of Mt. Lykaion and many other local toponyms. This is all the more interesting when we consider the geographical location of **Lukohagreus*, which seems to have been proximal to the watershed of the Neda, up in the foothills of Tetrazi or in the mountains on the north bank of the river.

³²⁷ Wright 1994, pp. 61-63 (quote from p. 63).

III: Zeus and *Diwia* on Mt. Lykaion

Our second case study deals with the goddess *Diwia*, whose presence in the Linear B texts has elicited a good deal of interest among scholars.³²⁸ In addition to receiving offerings in a shrine dedicated to her worship, at Pylos she also had ‘servants’ or ‘slaves,’ presumably cult personnel. She appears on tablets at both Knossos and Thebes,³²⁹ and her cult induced parents to name their children in her honor at all three sites over the course of hundreds of years.³³⁰ She has been compared with Dione, mother of Aphrodite by Zeus and his consort at Dodona.³³¹ Etymologically *Diwia*, whose name is derived from Zeus’, seems to have been the original consort of Zeus, although she was in most places eventually replaced by Hera.³³²

We know from an inscription that a goddess Διϝία was revered in Pamphylia during historical times, and after digamma dropped she survived under the name Dia in a

³²⁸ For an overview, see *BNP*, 2004, col. 332, s.v. Dia (Graf); Hiller 2011, pp. 189-190.

³²⁹ *Di-u-ja*, *do-e-ro*; *di-wi-ja*, *do-e-ra*; PY Cn 1287, An 607. KN Xd 97+284; TH Gp 313.

³³⁰ *Di-wi-ja-wo*; KN Vc (1) 293, PY Na 406, TH Ug 11. *Di-u-ja-wo*; TH Of 26.

³³¹ Tartaron 2004, p. 21 notes the correspondence of Dione at Dodona and *Diwia* in the Mycenaean archives.

³³² Duev 2008, p. 226, n. 23. I cannot, however, agree with Duev that *Diwia* (226) “represents only a stage in the development of the Indo-European Sky Father *di-we* during the Mycenaean period under the influence of local Aegean cults of dominant female deities.” The fact that counterparts to *Diwia* are known in other Indo-European traditions makes this conclusion unlikely. Of course, we should accept that earlier Aegean goddesses influenced the Mycenaean divinities, but the details of these processes are not documented in the tablets. For the Indo-European parallels of *Diwia*, see Zolotnikova 2013, pp. 8-9, although once again I cannot agree with her that (p. 11) “[p]erhaps, on a certain phase of the evolution of the Bronze Age Greek religion and mythology, the original sister and consort of the god Zeus, the goddess **Diwija*, began to be seen as an evil-minded and antagonistic to Zeus deity and possibly even as a furious and wrathful goddess, who may have been characterized with the adjective-epithet ἥρη/ἥρα.” In the first place, we see that Hera and *Diwia* were different entities in the Late Bronze Age, and the obscurity of *Diwia* means that we can only ever hypothesize about her in a most general way (e.g., the likelihood that she was present at a site). Her function outside of what we can glean from etymology and later tradition will remain obscure.

small number of later Greek cults.³³³ It seems that Dia was listed among the daughters of Lykaon in the work of Hekataios of Miletus,³³⁴ a fact that would put her on Mt. Lykaion. Scholiasts fill out the story for us, asserting that Dia was considered a daughter of Lykaon and mother of Dryops by Apollo.³³⁵ According to the preserved myth, she nursed her child in the trunk of an oak tree.³³⁶ The hero Dryops was the progenitor of the Dryopes, a tribe associated with a range of places including the Argolid, Central Greece, Euboea, the Cycladic islands, and Cyprus.³³⁷ However, Dryops also developed Arcadian connections, and Aristotle preserved a tradition that the Dryopes of Asine were settled there by the Arcadian Dryops.³³⁸

From Strabo and Pausanias we can learn that Dia was identified with Zeus's daughter Hebe or Ganymeda at Phleious and Sikyon.³³⁹ In Thessalian myth she was considered the wife of Ixion and daughter of Eioneus or Deioneus. They had a son Peirithoos,³⁴⁰ whose true father was thought to be Zeus already in the time of Homer.³⁴¹ The pattern seems to be one of subordinating Dia to Zeus through either descent or sexual

³³³ Cf. *BNP*, 2004, col. 332, s.v. Dia (Graf): "In the post-Mycenaean period the three heroines who can be linked with the Mycenaean goddess by name, are all linked with Zeus, but the individual derivation is problematical." Hopefully we can make some strides towards solving one of these problems here.

³³⁴ *BNJ* 1 F 6a-b, with commentary (Pownall). The fragments in question come from the Italian Renaissance scholar Natalis Comes (Natale Conte), the validity of whose quotations have been called into question since the 19th century. It seems rather specific, however, to ascribe information to Hekataios, who was himself not the best known of authors. One can imagine that Comes got his hands on a copy of some of Hekataios' works in the aftermath of Constantinople's fall in 1453.

³³⁵ Schol. Lyc. 480; schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1218; *Et. Mag.*, s.v. Δρύοψ.

³³⁶ This affords two links with the Lykaion traditions. As we have seen, the oak was used in the rain ritual at the Hagno fountain and oak crowns were given as prizes to *Lykaionikai* (see Chapter 4, III), and secondly the nurturing context is reminiscent of Zeus' birth.

³³⁷ Hall 1997, pp. 74-77.

³³⁸ *Apud* Str. 8.6.13. *H. Pan* (19.32-37), usually dated to the fifth century B.C., makes Pan the son of Hermes and a daughter of Dryops.

³³⁹ Str. 8.6.24; Paus. 2.12.4, 13.3.

³⁴⁰ D.S. 4.69.3; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.2.

³⁴¹ *Il.* 2.741.

activity.

Fowler has suggested that the tradition linking Lykaon, Dia, and Dryops dates back to the early Archaic period, after the Dryopes of Asine in the Argolid had been transferred to Korone in Messenia, an event which took place through the agency of the Spartans in the eighth century B.C.³⁴² By severing their connection with the Argolid and attaching themselves to Arcadia, the Asinaians could accordingly distance themselves from their earlier defeat at the hands of Argos, and Dryops, whose name means ‘Oak-face,’ could be attached to the genealogical and sacred traditions of the acorn-eating Arcadians with relative ease.

If we can trace Dia back to around 700 B.C., it follows that she was not artificially inserted by Classical mythographers or Hellenistic scholars. It is of interest that Dia, daughter of Lykaon, was characterized as a consort of Apollo, who was himself worshipped on Mt. Lykaion near Kretea and further to the west at Bassae on Mt. Kotilion. The earliest evidence from these shrines is Geometric, and accordingly Apollo’s incorporation into the area may have influenced the fate of Mycenaean *Diwia*.³⁴³ While we certainly cannot accept these later elaborations as an accurate depiction of her earlier role, it is unlikely that Dia, a very obscure figure in later times, was an intruder. The etymological connection seen in the ancient juxtaposition of Indo-European **Dyēws* and *LYK-* in the name of Zeus Lykaios is reflected by the fact that **Lykaon** is called the father of **Dia**, and the myth reported about Dia, that she nursed her child in the trunk of an oak

³⁴² Fowler 2013, pp. 102-103, with n. 52.

³⁴³ Voyatzis 1990, pp. 43-44, 90-91; Voyatzis 1999, pp. 135-139.

tree, is reminiscent of the local myth of Zeus's birth and the importance of oaks in the landscape and ritual, such as was the case for the rain-making rite that took place at the Hagno Fountain.³⁴⁴ Accordingly, her presence at Mt. Lykaion was arguably established quite early on, during the heyday of her worship in the Late Bronze Age, and later adapted and re-used in the changed contexts of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.

In the Mycenaean texts, *Diwia* is very much a part of the official religion of the palace. For instance, at Pylos she has her own shrine at *pa-ki-ja-ne* (PY Tn 316). Thus, it is possible that Dia at Mt. Lykaion represents an acquisition from the palatial religion, in the reverse of the process described by Wright with regard to the absorption of local traditions in the palace cult centers. This hypothesis can help us to understand why there is a distinct lack of female divinities on Mt. Lykaion, with the exception of water goddesses. It may be that, after the collapse of the palaces and the fading of *Diwia*, she lost her significance as a representative of the high culture, and her subordination thus becomes more easily understood. Once again, the adaptation of models from archaeology, if applied correctly, can help us to understand developments in local myth.

IV: Neda as a Kourotrophic Nymph in the Late Bronze Age

We turn now to the river Neda, whose homonymous nymph is cited as one of Zeus' nurses on Mt. Lykaion by Callimachus and Pausanias. In Chapter 1 (IV), we saw that in Callimachus she gave her name to the river in which Rhea bathed the infant Zeus. Pausanias reports that Phigaleian youths offered locks of their hair to the Neda at the

³⁴⁴ Paus. 8.38.4.

point where the river flowed closest to the city,³⁴⁵ and this kind of offering is considered to be particularly appropriate for a kourotrophic divinity.³⁴⁶ On an offering table in the sanctuary of the Great Goddesses at Megalopolis, Neda is represented holding Zeus, a feature that Jost suggests reflects her important role in the southwestern Peloponnesian tradition of Zeus's infancy.³⁴⁷ In a variant of this same tradition, the Messenians claimed that Zeus's nurses were Neda and Ithome, the nymph who gave her name to their sacred mountain, which also had a Zeus sanctuary on its peak.³⁴⁸

In the historical period Neda was thus a significant divinity in the southwestern Peloponnese.³⁴⁹ This makes sense if we consider the fact that the Neda river is shared by the landscapes of southwestern Arcadia, northern Messenia, and Triphylia. We have seen that many Mycenologists argue that the Neda formed the northern boundary of the Pylian state. More interesting is the fact that an important military officer is named *ne-da-wa-ta/ne-da-wa-ta-o*, which is to be construed in the nominative as **Nedwatas*.³⁵⁰ Scholars

³⁴⁵ 8.41.3.

³⁴⁶ Burkert 1985, pp. 174-175; Jost 1985, p. 525.

³⁴⁷ Paus. 8.31.4; Jost 1985, pp. 246-247. Cf. also 8.47.3, where Neda was depicted in the scene of Zeus's birth that decorated the altar of Athena Alea at Tegea. Here she is removed from her central role, relegated to the side of Rhea and the nymph Oinoe.

³⁴⁸ Paus. 4.33.1-2. Themelis 2003, pp. 118-119 suggests that the cult statue made for the Messenians by Ageladas in the late Archaic period was a small image of the Zeus-child, which they brought back to Mt. Ithome in 369 B.C.

³⁴⁹ Note Jost's conclusion about the southwestern Peloponnesian origins of the Neda traditions, 1985, pp. 246-247: "La prééminence accordée à cette Nymphé [sc. Neda] sur ses compagnes semble propre à la version légendaire du Péloponnèse Sud-occidental: on la retrouve dans l'Hymne de Callimaque qui place l'action en Parrhasie, ainsi que dans la légende messénienne où Zeus est élevé par les Nymphes Ithomé et Nédá."

³⁵⁰ PY An 657, Jo 438. The fact that **Nedwatas* was an important individual in the kingdom argues against the possibility that the name was used simply to identify his origin, i.e., it is unlikely that administrators used **Nedwatas* as a nickname to keep track of a man from an outlying district; cf. García Ramón 2011, p. 228: "It is likely that the autochthonous names of slaves and foreigners were replaced by (nick)names, especially ethnics, devised by the owner or by the community, as was sometimes the case in first millennium Greece. We may even assume that the same was true for people who had only a modest status in society. But this can hardly be more than a general tendency." This was certainly the given name of

agree that this name refers to the Neda river, whose earlier form would have had a digamma, **Nedwa*. The name is formed through the addition of the adjectival suffix *-tas*, which in Mycenaean Greek was not restricted to ethnic adjectives (as is often the case in historical Greek).³⁵¹ There is another Pylian name in *-tas* connected with Zeus or *Diwia*, *Diwiatas* (*di-wi-ja-ta*). This is either a place name derived from *Diwia* or a Zeus sanctuary, or perhaps a collective ethnic referring to people who inhabited an area sacred to Zeus.³⁵² Secondly, we have a Knossian name connected with that of Hermes, *Hermiatas* (*e-mi-ja-ta*), offering another possible Mycenaean theophoric.³⁵³ It is conceivable that in **Nedwatas* we are also dealing with a theophoric name, along the lines of the historical theophorics derived from or identical with rivers: to name just a few examples, we have Asopios, Alpheios, Eurotos, Kephisios, Erymanthos, and Inachidas.³⁵⁴ Most interesting in this case is a man named Nedontios from fifth century B.C. Kea, who took his name from the cult of Athena Nedousia, said to have been a foundation of Nestor

**Nedwatas*. His high status is to be inferred from the fact that he commanded troops and dealt in gold. Cf. also Palaima 1999, p. 370: "Among individuals of 'elite' standing (military, economic, administrative and social) we may consider the names of ... the leaders of *o-ka* contingents at Pylos."

³⁵¹ Risch 1957; Ruijgh 1967, pp. 164-165; Leukart 1994; Tribulato 2015, pp. 94-97.

³⁵² PY Nn 228; Aura-Jorro, vol. 1, 1999, p. 181, citing C. Milani in *Aevum* 32 (1958): p. 122; Ruijgh 1967, p. 130; Leukart 1994, pp. 175-177.

³⁵³ KN V (6) 831; Ruijgh 1967, p. 195, with n. 482; Leukart 1994, pp. 184-185, with n. 148. Cf. also *me-ri-wa-ta* /*Meliwatas*/ or /*Meliwastas*/ ~ Melia (Ash-tree nymphs) or Meliastai (Paus. 8.6.5); Leukart 1994, p. 118; *re-u-ka-ta* /*Leukatas*/ ~ Zeus Leukaiaos at Leprean and Apollo Leukatas: Leukart 1994, p. 179; *tu-ke-ne-u* /*Stugneus*/ ~ Styx (unlikely). Even if *Diwiatas* and *Hermiatas* are derived from toponyms, the point is that they both also refer to the divinity associated with those toponyms. One cannot be separated from the other, and this is particularly the case for natural features of the landscape, which for the ancients were literally divine.

³⁵⁴ Cf. the remarks of Burkert 1985, pp. 174-175: "The idea that rivers are gods and springs divine nymphs is deeply rooted not only in poetry but in belief and ritual; the worship of these deities is limited only by the fact that they are inseparably identified with a specific locality"; Visser 1997, p. 535, n. 9: "Die Vermittlung zwischen Sage und Geographie wird in der mythischen Weltsicht über Heroen oder Naturgötter, vor allem Nymphen, geleistet" (italics mine). On **Nedwatas*, see Ruijgh 1967, pp. 164-154; Leukart 1994, pp. 104-105, 110, 115-117, 173.

on his return from Troy and thus connected with the toponymy under discussion.³⁵⁵



Map 9: *NED-* in Southwestern Arcadia, Messenia, and Triphylia

Accordingly, there is an argument for ascribing a divinity named Neda to the Late Bronze Age landscape under discussion. The military leader **Nedwatas* was stationed somewhere near the mouth of the Neda river, in command of men from the area around Kyparissia. It would make sense if a particular reverence for Neda was felt in this area. Like the *LYK-* place names we have seen, the root **ned-*, which seems to come from an old Indo-European word for ‘river’,³⁵⁶ recurs in the landscape of the southwestern Peloponnese (see **Map 8**). In addition to the Neda river, we have the Nedon river, which flows from the foothills of Taygetos to the Messenian Gulf at modern Kalamata. Somewhere in this same area there was a sanctuary of Athena Nedousia during historical

³⁵⁵ *IG* XII, 5.608(1); Str. 10.5.6.

³⁵⁶ Chantraine 1999, p. 739, s.v. Νέδα.

times, paralleling that on Kea.³⁵⁷ In addition to the Neda, the Pylos tablets document both the Nedon river and a place called **Nedwos*, which is associated with locations in the Kyparissia-Soulima Valley. Naming one's child after the river can be brought into line with later Greek practice, when nymphs and river gods were particularly associated with the birth and care of children.³⁵⁸ It is also interesting that, although the Greek gods long ago ceased to be worshipped, belief in nymphs has persisted into modern times in Greece, where they have been subsumed under the name of their counterparts in the sea, Νεράιδες.³⁵⁹ We of course cannot know if Neda was already connected with the cult on Mt. Lykaion in the Late Bronze Age, but it remains a possibility. In any case, just as she connected the historical regions of Triphylia, northern Messenia, and southwestern Arcadia during historical times, she was likewise revered by the inhabitants of these same areas during earlier periods.

V: Mt. Lykaion and Andania

By way of comparison, we can adduce another striking parallel shared by the religious toponymy of northeastern Messenia and Mt. Lykaion. Pausanias (4.1.6-9 = Rhianos *BNJ* 265 F 45) preserves a tradition linking the legendary Attic figure Lykos with the mysteries celebrated at the Karnasion, a sanctuary near Andania. These mysteries were said to have been as old as Messenia itself (Paus. 4.1.5), but they were interrupted during the period of Spartan domination. Renewed in the mid-fourth century B.C., the group of deities worshipped there was eventually expanded to include the

³⁵⁷ Str. 8.4.4.

³⁵⁸ Larson 2001, pp. 5, 43. Cf. Eur. *El.* 626. Orestes has just learned that Aegisthus is preparing a sacrifice for the nymphs, and he responds with the question: τροφεία παίδων ἢ πρὸ μέλλοντος τόκου;

³⁵⁹ Nilsson 1940, pp. 16-17.

megaloi theoi Karneioi (who have been identified with the Theban Kabeiroi and the Dioskouroi), Apollo Karneios, Hermes Kriophoros, Demeter, and Hagna. The traditional view sees Demeter and Kore, whom Pausanias conflates with Hagna, as the original focus of cult, and there has even been an attempt to show that worship of a goddess at Andania started in the Bronze Age.³⁶⁰

Thanks to two inscriptions,³⁶¹ we know certain details about this cult as it existed in 92/1 B.C. There were at least two areas of activity, the Hagna Fountain and the temple of the Great Gods. It is unclear which deities were the focus of the mysteries, and there seems to have been a good deal of addition and syncretism.

One view understands the original focus of worship to have been the spring and its goddess Hagna.³⁶² Mt. Lykaion had its own Hagno Fountain, dedicated to one of the nymphs who reared Zeus in the Arcadian tradition (Paus. 8.38.3-4). As has been mentioned, it was at this fountain that the priest of Zeus Lykaios performed rain magic during droughts. The mysteries for Demeter and her daughter, whether or not Kore was originally associated with Hagna or only later syncretized, encouraged the ancients to make connections with the Eleusinia, but consider also the possibility of a connection with the mysteries celebrated at the much closer site of Lykosoura. The title ‘Great Goddesses,’ as Pausanias styles the deities of Andania, is known elsewhere only in

³⁶⁰ Gawlinski 2012, pp. 17-22. Zunino 1997, pp. 127-128 and 320-321 makes the connection with Mycenaean worship. Specifically, she interprets the original focus of cult to have been the goddess *pe-re-**82 from PY Un 6. This goddess is often equated with Persephone, and Zunino suggests that she originally encapsulated the dual ideas of seniority and filiality (“anzianità e ‘filialità’”). In time these concepts gave rise to two figures, the mother and daughter, who were only later identified with Eleusinian Demeter and Kore. On the mysteries of Andania, see also Deshours 2006.

³⁶¹ See Luraghi 2008, pp. 295-299.

³⁶² Ziehen 1926.

southwestern Arcadia at Bathos and Megalopolis (Paus. 8.29.1, 31.1-8).³⁶³

We thus have at Andania an ancient cult site with a complex sacred stratigraphy. As far as connections with the Mt. Lykaion region are concerned, the most concrete is the Hagna Fountain, which seems to have a near identical parallel in Hagno's Fountain.³⁶⁴ The mysteries of Demeter and Kore could point to a tradition similar to that found at Lykosoura's sanctuary of Despoina. Finally, we have the testimony about Lykos' Oak-Wood. A connection with the Athenian Lykos, son of Pandion, is likely to be late and due to an Athenocentric worldview. The question we must ask, however, is why Lykos was introduced into the landscape at all. Pausanias says that "many years after Kaukon, Lykos brought the mysteries of the Great Goddesses to greater honor." Kaukon was said to have introduced the mysteries from Eleusis, but he was himself a hero associated with the region of Lepreon in Triphylia. The transfer of Kaukon to Attica and the introduction of the Athenian missionaries Lykos and Methapos point to Attic invention. Robertson plausibly suggests that similarity between the rites of the Lykomidai in honor of the Great Goddess at Phlya in Attica and those of Andania encouraged the lettered Lykomid priests to contrive the missions.³⁶⁵ Α δρυμόν τε Λύκοιο mentioned in Rhianos prompted the association with the Athenian Lykos, and the whole tradition serves to enhance the prestige of the Lykomidai.

Lykos the Athenian is therefore a late addition. He appears elsewhere associated

³⁶³ Robertson 1988, p. 248; Zunino 1997, pp. 316-317 thinks the title is anachronistic, but suggests (pp. 320-321) that the same Mycenaean goddess, *pe-re-**82, is behind both the Andanian goddesses and the Arcadian *despoinai*. She also proposes a connection between these goddesses and Poseidon, who, as noted above, appears as the father of Despoina at Lykosoura and had an altar there as Poseidon Hippios.

³⁶⁴ Gawlinski 2012, pp. 196-197.

³⁶⁵ Robertson 1988, p. 254.

with the Lycians of Asia Minor (Hdt. 1.173, 7.92; Str. 12.8.5) and the Lyceum of Athens (Paus. 1.19.3). Clearly nothing more than the similarity of his name encouraged these connections. Association with this Lykos (‘Wolf’) is therefore analogous to the interpretation of Zeus Lykaios as a wolf deity. The necessary conclusion with respect to Andania is that local tradition preserved the memory of some *LYK*- character (cf. Lykaon on Mt. Lykaion) or place name (or both) in association with this sanctuary.³⁶⁶ Homonymy encouraged the Athenian priests to insert their own character, Lykos, who was already mobile.

We unfortunately have no way of knowing when religious activity commenced at Andania. It has already been mentioned that there are arguments for attributing certain of its aspects to the Bronze Age,³⁶⁷ but there is also clear evidence for syncretism, addition, and reorganization in historical times. Noteworthy for us are three features: 1) the juxtaposition of a *LYK*- name with the Hagna Fountain; 2) the pairing of *LYK*- with the oak; and 3) the presence of an oak-wood in the vicinity of the Hagna Fountain. All three of these characteristics find analogues on Mt. Lykaion: 1) the Hagno Fountain is located between the Lower Sanctuary and Ash Altar of **Lykaion**; 2) the oak is the tree of Zeus, and an inscription (I-MTL 23) of the fourth century B.C. calls the **Lykaia** festival

³⁶⁶ Guarducci 1934, pp. 196-197 argues that this Lykos was a Peloponnesian hero, and even suggests that Rhianos’ *πάρ τε τρηχὴν Ἐλαιὸν ὑπὲρ δρυμόν τε Λύκοιο* “by rugged Elaion, beyond (or above?) the oak-wood of Lykos” refers to Lykosoura, on the grounds that Elaion is to be identified with the Agios Ilias to the west of Mt. Tetrazi. Deshours 2006, p. 217 suggests that the obscure Messenian Lykos (whose tomb near Sikyon is mentioned by Paus. 2.7.2) was intentionally conflated with the Athenian character. The same thing happened in the case of Orestes and Oresthasion/Orestheion, where the similarity in name (perhaps with the local hero Orestheus) encouraged the importation of the Argive hero; Jost 1973, p. 245; Pikoulas 1989, p. 158 (= Pikoulas 2002, p. 276).

³⁶⁷ In this connection it is interesting to note Ventrìs and Chadwick’s proposal for the first line of PY Un 2: *Pakiansi mu(i)omenoi epi wanaktei* “on the occasion of the king’s initiation at Pakijana”; Chadwick noted that this “suggests that Pakijana was the home of a special cult, perhaps even of mysteries; and it is worth recalling that mysteries survived in Messenia down to classical times, notably at Andania” (1957, p. 125).

δρυοστεφάνοις ‘oak-crowned’; 3) the ritual performed at the Hagno Fountain had the priest of Zeus Lykaïos dip an oak branch (δρυὸς κλάδον) into the water. Given these connections, it is just possible that, in addition to whatever other sacred associations the region had,³⁶⁸ there was in the Stenyklaros Plain the same juxtaposition of a holy (ἁγνός) water source and an *LYK*- place name. The latter need not have been originally linked to the wolf, for the case of Zeus Lykaïos shows the kind of confusion and blending that this root encouraged.³⁶⁹ Assuming that the δρυμόν τε Λύκοιο and Hagna were sufficiently ancient, Vermeule’s connection of *ru-ko-a₂-kē-re-u-te* with the former may be closer to the mark than previously thought. If nothing more, it supports the idea mentioned above that *LYK*- names were part of a very ancient, southwestern Peloponnesian tradition. A close connection with Mt. Lykaion is presupposed by the words of Rhianos: πάρ τε τρηχὸν Ἐλαιὸν ὑπὲρ δρυμόν τε Λύκοιο “by rugged Elaion, above the oak-wood of Lykos.” According to Pausanias (8.42.1), Mt. Elaion was near Phigaleia, and this would make it one of the mountains near the Neda. It has been identified with Agios Ilias, the mountain just west of the peak of Tetrazi, in the vicinity of the village of Kouvelas.³⁷⁰

The historical cults on Mt. Lykaion and at Andania exhibit similarities such as

³⁶⁸ Gawlinski 2013, p. 195: “Hagna was an object of cult in the sanctuary in her own right, separate from the Mysteries, though also associated with them through her location.”

³⁶⁹ A Λύκος whose name refers to light is found in the Boeotian myth in which Lykos succeeds his brother Nykteus, where together the names express the concept of night following day; Cook 1914, p. 65.

³⁷⁰ Valmin 1930, pp. 120-122. I wonder if the Oak-wood of Lykos is not to be found on the Profitis Ilias located in between Isari and Vasta. P. Playdon and I explored this mountain in July 2014, at which time it was noted that the area is thickly covered with oaks, which continue almost to the very top. It would therefore make sense if somewhere in this vicinity there was a sacred oak-wood with a *LYK*- name, for it is very proximal to Mt. Lykaion and Lykosoura. One can easily see both peaks of Lykaion and Lykosoura from this summit, and it is approximately due north of Andania and the Stenyklaros Plain, which one can see from both the slopes and summit. As for the association between Elaion and the Oak-wood in Rhianos, we could perhaps understand how an author writing from a Messenian point of view would cite Elaion, which is closer to Messene, as a reference point. Or maybe Rhianos has subsumed the entire Tetrazi range under the name of Elaion, which is also conceivable.

those we have been discussing for the Late Bronze Age. The correspondences are particularly evident in the religious topography, where we see *LYK*- toponyms paired with holy (ἁγν-) springs in a landscape characterized by oak trees. The physical setting goes hand in hand with the naming conventions of this region. I submit that, as is the case with Neda and *LYK*- more generally, the links we see at Andania likewise go back to prehistoric times. Even if this is not the case, however, they demonstrate how the two regions of southwestern Arcadia and northern Messenia are closely linked, and the fact that their inhabitants shared a landscape resulted in shared elements of culture.

VI: Other Links between Mt. Lykaion and the Linear B Texts

We can deal with the final correspondence more briefly. First we have the adjective *ka-wi-jo* /*Kalwios*/, which is best interpreted as an ethnic (PY An 192).³⁷¹ It modifies an important individual named *a-ke-o*, who has been identified as a ‘Collector,’ or one of a small group of men who controlled flocks and other commodities.³⁷² This man had flocks grazing all over the Pylian state. Some were at **Piswa*, and he had interests at another place in the Further Province called *re-qa-se-wo wo-wo*, where a shepherd named *ka-wi-ta* /*Kalwitas*/ was stationed (PY Cn 600).³⁷³ The two individuals are not directly associated, but it is possible that the name *Kalwitas* and the ethnic *Kalwios* are related. In this connection, it is of interest that an inscription recently discovered at Messene documents several new place names in northeastern Messenia and southwestern Arcadia: Endania/Endanika, Pylana/Pylanika, Akreiatis, Bipeiatis, Kleolaia, and Kaliatai. Pikoulas

³⁷¹ Ruijgh 1967, p. 189; Aura Jorro 1999, vol. 1, p. 333.

³⁷² Shelmerdine 2008, p. 132. On *a-ke-o*, see Nakassis 2013, pp. 196-197.

³⁷³ Aura Jorro 1999, vol. 1, p. 333. Leukart 1994, pp. 195-196, however, analyzes *Kalwitas* as a de-adjectival personal name.

has associated the last with the valley of the upper Neda, around the southern slopes of Lykaion and including the ford at Stasimon.³⁷⁴ The toponym would be Kaliai, with which *Kalwios* and *Kalwitas* can be related (καλός < καλφός). Another Kal(l)iai was known in Arcadia, situated near the Ladon river (Paus. 8.27.4). It is thus possible that in the Mycenaean ethnic and personal name we have evidence for a homonymous place name in the Pylian state, and it is interesting that a historical Kaliai is now known to have existed along the Neda river.

VII: Summary

To conclude, our survey of the Linear B documents from Pylos has revealed a number of parallels with the historically documented cult on Mt. Lykaion. The place **Lukohagreus* comes from the same linguistic root as the name of Mt. Lykaion and arguably other places in the vicinity. Both derive from the same grade of the Indo-European root **leuk-*, ‘to shine, light,’ which we discussed extensively in Chapter 1 (II). **Lukohagreus* was located in a spot used for pastoral activities somewhere in the mountains near the Neda. If, as has been argued, places named in this manner imply the existence of open-air sanctuaries, the parallel goes beyond a shared toponymic convention.

The tradition that made Lykaon the father of Dia is intriguing and could indicate that Mycenaean *Diwia* was an early resident of Mt. Lykaion, although we can only trace her back to the beginning of the historical period with certainty. It is nevertheless of

³⁷⁴ Pikoulas 2010-2013, pp. 277-280.

interest that we find her in connection with only very few historical sites and myths, one of which is closely tied to Mt. Lykaion.

Finally, the presence of Neda in the name **Nedwatas* indicates at the very least that the river and its associated nymph were already very much present in the collective mindset of the southwestern Peloponnese, and that her association with the welfare of children has deep roots in this area. A relationship with the Lykaion cult at this early date must remain hypothetical. Mt. Lykaion and the Neda river are located in a zone where the borders drawn by political authorities often fluctuated. Nevertheless, the patterns seen in the toponymy and religious topography are persistent, and the Mycenaean documents indicate that these regional traditions carry traces of a very deep past. Prior to the advent of the historical period, Mt. Lykaion belonged to the southwestern Peloponnese.

CHAPTER 3: MT. LYKAION IN GREEK HISTORY, 750-200 B.C.³⁷⁵

Moving from prehistory into history in Arcadia presents its own set of problems. Homer and some Hesiodic fragments are the lone literary sources we possess for the eighth century B.C., and when we reach the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. there is only a handful of fragmentary authors. Herodotus gives some important information about Arcadia in the Archaic period, and archaeology provides its own data set. Our earliest inscriptions from Arcadia itself do not come until the sixth century B.C., and Archaic epigraphy in Arcadia is by and large restricted to short inscriptions on objects dedicated at sanctuaries.³⁷⁶ This fact highlights the importance of sanctuaries in the early history of Arcadia, a point that has been underscored by both Voyatzis and Morgan,³⁷⁷ and most recently also by Heine Nielsen in his study of Arcadia's political organization in the Archaic period.³⁷⁸

Whereas at places like Nichoria and Lefkandi the large, centrally located house served as a focal point for burgeoning communities, in Geometric and early Archaic

³⁷⁵ For places mentioned in Chapter 3, see Map 11, p. 170.

³⁷⁶ I-MTL 2, 10, 11, 12, 14, *IG* V, 2.75 (*stèle* dedicated by a victor in the chariot race, Tegea, 525-500 B.C.), Lazzarini 289 (bronze pomegranate, unknown provenance, second half of the sixth century B.C.), 290 (see also *SEG* 30 416, a bronze axe of Late Helladic date dedicated at Pallantion in the sixth century B.C.), 410 (seated female statue, Asea, first half of the sixth century B.C.), 489 (spear-butt, Stymphalos, first half of the sixth century B.C.), 490 (marble pilaster, Tegea, sixth century B.C.), 495 (bronze key, first half of the sixth century B.C., perhaps Lousoi), 592 (rim of a bronze lebes, second half of the sixth century B.C., perhaps Lousoi or Pheneos), 868 (fragmentary stone base, Tegea, sixth century B.C.). Lazzarini 887 is a communal dedication of the Tegeans at Pallantion; 956 is an inscribed base commemorating the campaign of Mantinea against Tegea and her allies; 97 is the dedication of a spear-butt to the Tyndaridai by an Arcadian polis that was victorious over Heraia around 500 B.C. To these we may add more recent finds, including the (possibly) late seventh century B.C. bronze phiale from Pallantion (*SEG* 45 352); a bronze ram dedicated by Xenoklees (*sic*) to Poseidon Elater from Tegea (*SEG* 50 441); a bronze pin dedicated to Athena at her temple in Phigaleia (*SEG* 47 439; note that there is as yet unpublished a bronze dedication to Athena from the same temple, of eight or nine lines (*SEG* 46 447, 47 440, 51 511D)); *LSAG*², p. 449, A is a bronze hydria dedicated to Demeter, perhaps at Mantinea, dating to 525-500 B.C. (publication in *Auktion* 26, no. 13).

³⁷⁷ Voyatzis 1990, 1999 and Morgan 1990, pp. 79-85.

³⁷⁸ Nielsen 2002, pp. 176-184.

Arcadia it was primarily the sanctuaries that provided common grounds for community building, interaction between different settlements, and the expression of status and power among elites. It is within this framework that we shall understand the role of Mt. Lykaion during this formative period of Greek history. I suggest that it was tension between two of these Arcadian religious centers – Mt. Lykaion in the southwest and the sanctuary of Hermes on Kyllene in the northeast – that shaped the Arcadia we know in the Classical period.

In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the available data increases. We have many more inscriptions from Arcadian sites, including that of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion and the other Parrhasian sanctuaries. As Arcadian society developed, so did the uses of its cult sites. In particular, Zeus Lykaios and Pan became the preeminent deities of the Arcadian *koinon* (League), and I shall rely on new epigraphic evidence to argue that the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios was recognized as the religious center of the League, an idea that has been disputed by recent scholarship.³⁷⁹ We shall see that the preeminent status of the Zeus Lykaios shrine, which was acquired during the course of the Archaic period, was redirected towards the promotion of political unity under the federal governing bodies of Arcadia. This phenomenon is evidenced across our historical sources and includes data drawn from the literary record, epigraphy, numismatics, and archaeology. The sanctuary's epigraphical record supports the argument that the League continued down through at least the end of the fourth century B.C.

³⁷⁹ Tsiolis 1995, p. 53, n. 13; Roy 2007, p. 291: "In the synoecism Megalopolis acquired the sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Lykaion where the cult of Zeus Lykaios had pan-Arkadian importance at least from the 5th century, but the cult did not become a focus of political activity, and Megalopolitan control of the sanctuary does not suggest that Megalopolis was the confederate capital." The most recent endorsement of this view is Nielsen 2013. A noteworthy exception is Jost 1994, pp. 227-228.

We shall conclude this chapter with a look at the roles played by the sanctuaries of Mt. Lykaion in the third century B.C. There are good grounds for arguing that the festival continued to be celebrated on the mountain until the last quarter of the century, and we shall suggest other developments in the cult and its relationship to the city of Megalopolis.

I: From Prehistory to History, the *Basileis* of Trapezous

The traditions about Arcadia during the Early Iron Age and the early Archaic period all speak of its rulers as *basileis*, with most suggesting that there was a supreme *basileus*. This is very likely an anachronistic picture based on Classical and Hellenistic misunderstandings of what ‘*basileus*’ connoted at this earlier time. In my opinion, the most convincing interpretation of the term’s meaning is that of Forrest.³⁸⁰ After closely investigating the evidence for early political associations in Ionia and Central Greece, he concludes that during the Early Iron Age each individual settlement had only one *basileus*. When Hesiod speaks of a collective of *basileis*, he is speaking of “the collectivity which could give political force to the sanctuary around which as representatives of their own towns or villages they congregated.”³⁸¹ Small regional groupings of settlements around a common sanctuary thus formed the Early Iron Age building blocks of what would become Arcadia.³⁸²

This is precisely how we should imagine the functioning of the sacred landscape of Mt. Lykaion during the Dark Ages, which in geographical terms provides an

³⁸⁰ Forrest 2000.

³⁸¹ Forrest 2000, p. 287.

³⁸² This is particularly the case for Eleia (Olympia), Boeotia (Onchestos), Phocis (Delphi), and Aetolia (Thermon) as well. On the manufacturing of space by an *ethnos*, see McInerney 2013.

appropriately sized unit for Forrest's model. The small settlements located on the mountain and to the west of the Alpheios river in the Megalopolis Basin were each led by a charismatic, powerful individual, the nature of whose power unfortunately eludes us. If Lykourgos and Ereuthalion of Homer's *Iliad* can provide us with clues, we can suggest that this status was at least partially derived from prowess in war and included orderly succession, although that succession was not necessarily based on a single bloodline.³⁸³ It is not a stretch to imagine that these Parrhasian *basileis* met from time to time at the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion to celebrate their common religious rites, settle disputes, and transact other kinds of business. The sanctuaries of Pan at Berekla, Apollo Parrhasios, Lykosoura, and the other minor shrines that developed were probably more closely connected to individual settlements in Parrhasia, which could in turn host their own celebrations to supplement the activity that took place at the Zeus sanctuary. Some, like Apollo Parrhasios and Lykosoura, eventually became preeminent in their own right, but the system was always dominated by Zeus Lykaios and his sacred mountain. I suggest that this kind of arrangement is what we should imagine when speaking of the Parrhasian "tribal state."³⁸⁴

We have already had reason to discuss the royal genealogies of Arcadia, the collection of which goes back to Hekataios.³⁸⁵ These genealogies are complex and the form in which we have them is due to a long process of scholarly consolidation and rationalization. Carlier isolated two distinct strands in the tradition. Prior to the Trojan War the kings are localized at Tegea, while after the reign of Agapenor a successor

³⁸³ See Chapter 1, III, b.

³⁸⁴ See below, Chapter 3, II, b-c.

³⁸⁵ See Chapter 2, I, b.

named Hippothoos is said to have transferred the royal capital to Trapezous. The Tegean kings are heroes, while the Trapezountian kings are either empty names or sacrilegious traitors (see below). Carlier suggests that the idea of Trapezous as the royal capital belongs to the time of Epaminondas, when the Megalopolitans wished to be close to the ancient royal center and – thanks to the obstinacy of Trapezous – were not averse to viewing the Trapezountian kings in a bad light. As we shall see, however, their negative reputations can be otherwise explained. Strabo, who places the bad king Aristomenes at Orchomenos, preserves a third tradition, whose origins most probably date back to the earliest days of the Arcadian League, when Orchomenos supported Sparta against the League (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11).

Pace Carlier, the dynasty localized at Trapezous must represent a local tradition of the southwestern Arcadians, which during the course of the Archaic period was incorporated into the eastern traditions based primarily on Tegea but which also included other eastern sites such as Mantinea and Pheneos. This point is underscored by the fact that the name Aipyros appears at Trapezous, Mantinea, Pheneos, Phaesana, and Messene. Hesiod knew of the myth that connected the name of Trapezous with the table at Lykaon's banquet (frg. 163 Merkelbach-West). The traditions that centered the kingdom of Arcadia at Trapezous are accordingly best associated with the gradual development of the Lykaion sanctuary as the central religious site of Arcadia, a process that occurred during Archaic times.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁶ See Chapter 3, II, b-c for a detailed analysis.

The recent excavations at Trapezous have not revealed any material dating earlier than the late Archaic period.³⁸⁷ The fact that the toponym is known in early Archaic contexts implies the existence of some kind of settlement, but we cannot be specific about its arrangements. It has already been noted that the name was associated with the myth of Lykaon and Zeus at a relatively early date. Other indications – both mythological and historical – point in the same direction. In the first place, the Trapezountian kings about whom we know more than their names are all characterized as impious or traitorous. Aipyros violated the *abaton* of Poseidon Hippios at Mantinea (Paus. 8.5.5, 10.3); Aristokrates I, who seems to have been a historical figure from around 700 B.C.,³⁸⁸ reputedly violated a priestess of Artemis Hymnia at a sanctuary near Mantinea and Orchomenos (Paus. 8.5.11-12, 13.1-5); Aristokrates II is said to have betrayed the Messenians at the Battle of the Great Trench.³⁸⁹ Both Aristokrates I and II were stoned for their treacherous behavior, and an inscription was set up near the temenos of Zeus Lykaeos commemorating the punishment of Aristokrates II (I-MTL 1).

There are essentially two ways of interpreting these stories. Carlier views them in a historical light, suggesting that the negative attitudes expressed about these three kings are indicative of Arcadian hostility towards hereditary kingship. The poor reputation of Aristokrates I and II was transferred back to Aipyros, one of the earliest members of the dynasty. When Pausanias records that Aristokrates I ruled almost all of Arcadia, we should take this literally to mean that he had control over most of the region and had the

³⁸⁷ See Chapter 3, II, a.

³⁸⁸ Diog. Laert. 1.94 makes Aristokrates I the father-in-law of Prokles, tyrant of Epidauros. He is accordingly the grandfather of Melissa, wife of Periander; see Carlier 1984, p. 406.

³⁸⁹ See Chapter 3, II, d.

authority to levy troops.³⁹⁰ Characters like Demonax, who is called the *basileus* of the Mantineans, point to other lesser or independent kings.

There is something to be said for this view, and it is indeed seductive given our poor understanding of the history of early Arcadia. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that a Trapezountian king ruled over all of Arcadia. Tegea was known as the leader of the struggle against Sparta in the seventh century B.C., and northern Arcadia (particularly Pheneos and Stymphalos) were more closely linked with Argos.³⁹¹ The characterization of the Trapezountian kings Aipytos and Aristokrates I as religious transgressors more likely derives from the tradition of Lykaon, the ultimate transgressor against Zeus. Lykaon was, after all, the ultimate ancestor of the Trapezountians. It is telling in this connection that an *abaton* makes an appearance in the stories of Arkas (Lykaon's grandson) and Aipytos. Traditional material that derived from the Lykaion sanctuary was used to characterize other local figures, just as the meaning of the toponym Trapezous was explained by way of the Lykaion myth.³⁹²

That the transgressions of Aipytos and Aristokrates I occurred in Orchomenian and Mantinean territory could indicate resistance to the ideology of southwestern Arcadia, which was becoming dominant throughout the entire region. We can imagine, for instance, that certain eastern Arcadians began characterizing the chief men of the southwest in terms of their ancestor Lykaon, along the lines of the adage 'like father, like son,' in order to resist the ascendancy of the southwestern cult center. Given the central

³⁹⁰ Carlier 1984, pp. 406-407.

³⁹¹ See Chapter 3, II, b.

³⁹² The name may actually refer to the fact that the area was rich in four-legged creatures (Risch 1965, p. 197, n. 15), or, more likely in my view, to the fact that the land is in a flat, table-like basin below Lykaion.

role of sanctuaries in the early history of the region, whichever sacred site became preeminent was destined to empower and enrich its local community. We must imagine that the sanctuaries of Athena Alea, Poseidon Hippios, Hermes Kyllenios, and still others coveted this status.

All of this points in the same direction: in the late eighth and seventh centuries B.C. all of Arcadia was gradually being united as a *religious* community under auspices of the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaeos. As we shall see in the subsequent section, this process continued throughout the Archaic period. The chief settlement of the area was Trapezous, whose importance was understandably magnified and further connected to the Lykaion traditions. It may very well be that a figure named Aristokrates failed to help the Messenians against the Spartans, but his characterization as a traitor is certainly the product of later historical fabrication.

This leaves us with a final question, who were these *basileis*? Perhaps by the Archaic period there were hereditary leaders of each individual community, and as the concept of Arcadia strengthened the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaeos put itself forward as the most convenient meeting place for a larger and larger number of *basileis*. Carlier discusses the fragment of Hermippus that calls the Archaic lawgiver Demonax the “*basileus* of the Mantineans,” whereas Herodotus (4.161.2) characterizes him as ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον (“the most esteemed citizen”).³⁹³ Carlier concludes that, in sixth century B.C. Mantinea, the title was given to certain priests for life or was a simple title accorded to members of an ancient, royal *genos*. The title is better understood in the

³⁹³ Carlier 1984, p. 404 (*P. Oxy.* 1367, ll. 19-21: ... Δημῶ- / νᾶξ ὁ βασι[λε]ύς / Μαντι- / νέων ...; ll. 27-28: ... Μαντινέων [βα]σιλεύς [ὁ Δημῶ]νᾶξ φ[...].).

manner discussed above, following Forrest, although we must certainly allow for development from the days of the Dark Ages.

We cannot be more specific. It is noteworthy, however, that when Herodotus lists the suitors of Agariste (6.126-127), daughter of Kleisthenes of Sikyon, he includes two Arcadians: Amiantos, son of Lykourgos of Trapezous, and the Azanian Laphanes, son of Euphorion from Paos. Kleisthenes was in search of “the best” (τὸν ἄριστον) for his daughter, and the son of Pheidon of Argos was counted among the suitors.³⁹⁴ The men in question were clearly from the most distinguished families of Archaic Greece – some of them were perhaps the sons of *basileis* (or families that had once held this status). The name of the Trapezountian’s father, Lykourgos, calls to mind both Mt. Lykaion and the heroic king Lykourgos from Homer’s *Iliad*, who, as we have already seen in Chapter 1 (III, b), was himself connected with the Zeus cult.³⁹⁵ As such, it would be a name appropriate to the *basileis* of Archaic Trapezous, and I submit that the dynastic name purposefully referenced the traditions of Mt. Lykaion in order to enhance family’s status.

II: Sanctuary and Identity

In recent years, scholars have become increasingly interested in understanding how and under what circumstances Greek sanctuaries acquired first local, then regional, and finally Panhellenic status, and how these different levels of sacred identity were activated and negotiated in the construction of ethnicity and corporate politico-religious

³⁹⁴ There are obvious chronological problems here; see Hall 2007, pp. 145-154. What is important for our purposes is the fact that the suitors were considered to be so elite as to include the famed tyrant’s son.

³⁹⁵ It is worth noting that Lykourgos is a trickster who defeats his enemy by guile, not strength. Generally speaking, he thus possesses qualities similar to those that characterized both Lykaon and the members of the Trapezountian dynasty.

institutions.³⁹⁶ To address these issues, the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaïos provides an ideal case study. The fact that the sanctuary exhibits continuous ritual activity from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age, Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods allows for the investigation of both continuity and change in a dynamic but uninterrupted context.³⁹⁷

In addition to the Parrhasians – about whom much has already been said – the *ethnos*³⁹⁸ of the *Arkades* was further subdivided into a number of cities and tribes, including those designated Azanians, Eutresians, Mainalians, and Kynourians.³⁹⁹ As I have suggested in the previous section, Zeus Lykaïos’ sanctuary was originally the most important among several local shrines of the Parrhasians. In the course of time, however, the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus became the sacred site of all Arcadians, eventually becoming a religious site significant for all Greeks. This depth of Arcadian identity – having as it did different levels to which individuals could subscribe (tribe/city-state, *ethnos* (Arcadian), Hellenic) – offers an opportunity for investigating how a particular religious cult acquired through stages first local, then regional, and lastly Hellenic significance and patronage. Our model for understanding the process by which one sanctuary took on regional significance thus mirrors Hall’s model of the formation of

³⁹⁶ See the recent collection of papers in Funke and Haake 2013, especially the contributions of McInerney, Roy (2013a), and Ganter. For identity in Classical Arcadia, see Pretzler 2009. Cf. the recent comment of Hall 2015, p. 42: “It is not yet – and may never be – possible to determine at what point in time the sanctuary assumed pan-Arkadian significance, though the sheer antiquity and continuous use may explain why the notion of autochthony was so central to Arkadian ethnicity, symbolized as early as the Hesiodic *Catalog of Women* (fr. 161) with the filiation of Lykaon from the earth-born Pelasgos.”

³⁹⁷ See Chapter 1, I.

³⁹⁸ On the concept of the *ethnos*, see McInerney 2001. For ancient Greek ethnic identity, see Hall 1997.

³⁹⁹ On the concept of these ‘tribes’ in Arcadia, see Roy 1996; Morgan 1999, p. 385; Nielsen 2002, ch. 7; Nielsen 2015, pp. 256-257. Nielsen prefers to call them “sub-ethnic federations.” For the history of the Mainalians and Parrhasians, see Pikoulas 1990 (= Pikoulas 2002, pp. 279-287).

Greek ethnic identity and the accompanying heroic genealogies.⁴⁰⁰ We start out with diversity – both in terms of the communities and their sanctuaries – and over the course of time one becomes preeminent after subsuming heritage from the others.

Accordingly, the present section offers an interpretation of one of these stages of development, namely, of how Zeus Lykaïos developed from a Parrhasian deity into the preeminent god of Arcadia, and of how Arcadian identity became solidified through this process. Beginning early in the Archaic period and lasting well into Classical times, we can sense a tension between the northern part of what became Arcadia, which was called Azania by the ancients,⁴⁰¹ and the southwestern landscape dominated by Lykaion. The former was home to Mt. Kyllene and Hermes, as is familiar from the *Homeric Hymn* written in his honor,⁴⁰² while the latter was considered the birthplace of Zeus and the setting for the activity of Pelasgos and Lykaon, the oldest Arcadian ancestors.⁴⁰³ We also see that Pan, the quintessentially Arcadian god, and Arkas, the eponymous ancestor of all Arcadians, were caught in this tension, and other mythical constructions that originated in the Archaic period point towards a rivalry between the Parrhasians and Azanians for

⁴⁰⁰ See also the introduction to Chapter 1. Cf. Hall 1997, p. 185 on the Dorians: “It is rather the recognition that the Dorian myth of origins is a gradual and cumulative aggregation of originally independent accounts which told of different ancestors and different homelands.” It is possible that the sanctuaries became so important for identity in the sub-regions of Arcadia precisely because the Arcadians did not fit into the standard stemma that traced all Greeks back to Hellen, son of Deukalion. This fact also helps to explain why a link was eventually fabricated, but not through blood: the autochthonous Arcadians on Mt. Lykaion were ruled by Lykaon, whose transgression caused the flood that eventually brought Deukalion and Pyrrha to Parnassos.

⁴⁰¹ On the Azanians, see Pikoulas 1981-1982 (= 2002a, pp. 23-37); Jost 1985, pp. 25-27; Roy and Nielsen 1998; Morgan 2009, pp. 159-160. Pheneos, Kleitor, Paion, Psophis, Lousoi, and Kynaitha were certainly Azanian; some include Thelphousa and Phigaleia, although the latter’s description as Azanian (Paus. 8.42.6, a Delphic oracle that purports to be of early fifth century B.C. date) is probably due to the poetic usage of ‘Azanian’ to mean ‘Arcadian,’ which developed in subsequent times. Thelphousa is included with the Azanians because of its cults, which Jost identified as Azanian, although Roy and Nielsen 1998, pp. 36 have refuted this idea.

⁴⁰² *h.Merc.* 1-2, 142, 228-230, 304, 318, 336-339, 387, 408.

⁴⁰³ On Zeus’ birth in Parrhasia, see Chapter 1, III, c and IV. For Pelasgos and Lykaon, see Apollod. 3.8.1 and Paus. 8.1.4-6, 2.1-7.

primacy, at least on the level of myth. The scales began to tip in favor of Mt. Lykaion in the course of the seventh century B.C., when the military aggression of Sparta against both Messenia and Arcadia magnified the importance of southwestern Arcadia generally, and of the sanctuaries of Apollo Epikourios and Zeus Lykaios particularly.

By the fifth century B.C., Zeus Lykaios is *the* god of the *ethnos*, as is evident from a series of contemporary coins, and this same phenomenon is reflected in the official policy of the Arcadian League in the fourth century B.C.



Figure 7: Mt. Lykaion, Lower Sanctuary, Emphasis on Hippodrome (photo by author)

a. Archaeological Background

The sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios consists of two discrete areas. We have already discussed the southern peak (1,382 m), where the open-air ash altar and temenos are located (see Figure 1, p. 69). 200 meters below and to the east are found more permanent sanctuary installations of the fourth century B.C. The latter include a stoa, an administrative building, a fountain house, bath complex, seats, a corridor, a race track, and the only preserved hippodrome on the Greek mainland.⁴⁰⁴ These date to the mid-

⁴⁰⁴ Romano and Voyatzis 2015.

fourth century B.C., although the earliest activity in the Lower Sanctuary has been assigned to the seventh century B.C.⁴⁰⁵

The mountain was also home to many other sacred sites, including a temple of Lykaian Pan, which has yet to be located but is documented by Pausanias (8.35.8). To the east is the temple of Apollo Parrhasios. The sanctuary of Despoina to the southeast at



Figure 8: The Sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura (photo by author)

Lykosoura has sixth century B.C. material, although the Megaron is dated somewhere between the fourth and second centuries B.C. A shrine of Hermes was located at the nearby site of Akakesion. A second shrine of Pan on the mountain's southern slopes near the springs of the Neda river was discovered by Kourouniotis at Berekla, and some have connected this structure with the sanctuary of Pan Nomios mentioned by Pausanias (8.38.11), although this was probably located elsewhere and awaits future discovery (I-MTL 11-14).⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁵ See below, Chapter 3, II, b.

⁴⁰⁶ The sanctuaries at Akakesion and Lykosoura are covered by Jost 1985, pp. 171-178. Excavation and study at Lykosoura occurred throughout the 20th century: Kavvadias 1893; Leonardos 1896a; Kourouniotis 1912; Levy 1967; see also Jost 1975 and 2003. For the excavations of the sanctuary of Pan at Berekla, see Kourouniotis 1902; Jost 1985, p. 187; Hübinger 1992; Roy 2010a. For Apollo Parrhasios, see Jost 1985, pp. 186-187; Pikoulas 2002b (= 2002a, pp. 447-458). For the new temple at Ano Melpeia, see the brief article by X. Arapogianni in the magazine *Archaeology* 65.6 (2012).



Figure 9: Apollo Parrhasios at Kretea, Temple Platform (photo by author)

Pikoulas has suggested that an otherwise unidentified sanctuary existed on Agios Yiorgios the High, one of Lykaion's lesser peaks to the east, and to the south of Lykaion on the slopes of Mt. Tetrazi (the ancient Nomia mountains) another temple has recently been discovered, although the object of the cult is unclear.⁴⁰⁷ In the late 19th century British archaeologists discovered a cult site near Mavria that they identified with the sanctuary of the Great Goddesses (Paus. 8.29.1) at Bathos (near Trapezous).⁴⁰⁸ The local toponym is Bathyrevma, which probably preserves a memory of the ancient name. A bronze bull inscribed IEP was among the finds (I-MTL 16), which altogether spanned from the Archaic period to the fourth century B.C. Nearby at Basilis there was a sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia (Paus. 8.29.5).

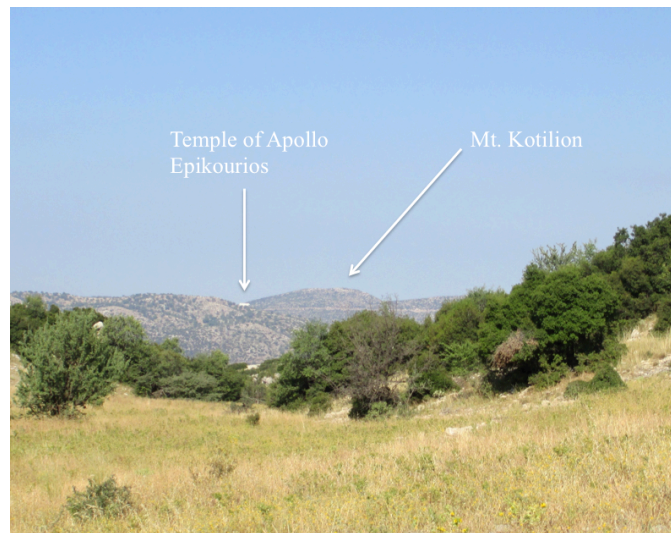
⁴⁰⁷ Pikoulas 2002b, pp. 250-251.

⁴⁰⁸ Bather and Yorke 1892-1893.



Figure 10: The Sanctuary of Pan at Berekla (photo by author)

Figure 11: View of Bassae and Kotilion from Mt. Lykaion (photo by author)



Further afield but still proximal is the famous temple of Apollo at Bassae, with two additional temples of Artemis and Aphrodite at Kotilion.⁴⁰⁹ Voyatzis dates these temples to the sixth century B.C. and disassociates them from Bassae.⁴¹⁰ Bassae had itself become an important sanctuary by the mid-seventh century B.C. Around 600 B.C. the first temple was built, whose architectural terracottas were replaced towards 570. The earliest material at Bassae is Late Geometric and has Laconian parallels. More intensive

⁴⁰⁹ For Bassae and Kotilion, see Cooper 1996, ch. 3.

⁴¹⁰ Voyatzis 1999, p. 138.

dedication began in the mid-seventh century B.C. and is characterized by large quantities of Corinthian and Laconian pottery and miniature bronze armor.⁴¹¹

A number of poleis and villages were also settled on the mountain's slopes. In addition to Lykosoura, we hear of Kretea, the purported birth place of Zeus (Paus. 8.38.2). The recently discovered city of Trapezous, forerunner to Megalopolis (itself a foundation of the 360s B.C. aimed at consolidating the dispersed population), is a fifth century B.C. orthogonally planned polis with 54 m² city blocks.⁴¹²



Figure 12: Aerial View of Trapezous (Google earth)

The area within the city walls is 1,000 x 650 m, and the earliest material uncovered dates to the late Archaic period. The city of Lykosoura has not been excavated, but the walls are dated to the fifth or fourth century B.C., and the foundations of a temple have been noted beneath a Byzantine chapel below the acropolis. Makaria

⁴¹¹ Voyatzis 1990, pp. 37-43; Voyatzis 1999, pp. 136-138. There is evidence for local metalworking.

⁴¹² For the polis of Lykosoura, see *RE* XIII, 2, 1927, coll. 2418-2426, s.v. Lykosura (Meyer) and Nielsen 2004, p. 517; for Kretea, Pikoulas 2002b, pp. 247-250; for Trapezous, Karapanagiotou 2005 and Pikoulas 2008.

was located on the Alpheios, however its remains have disappeared.⁴¹³



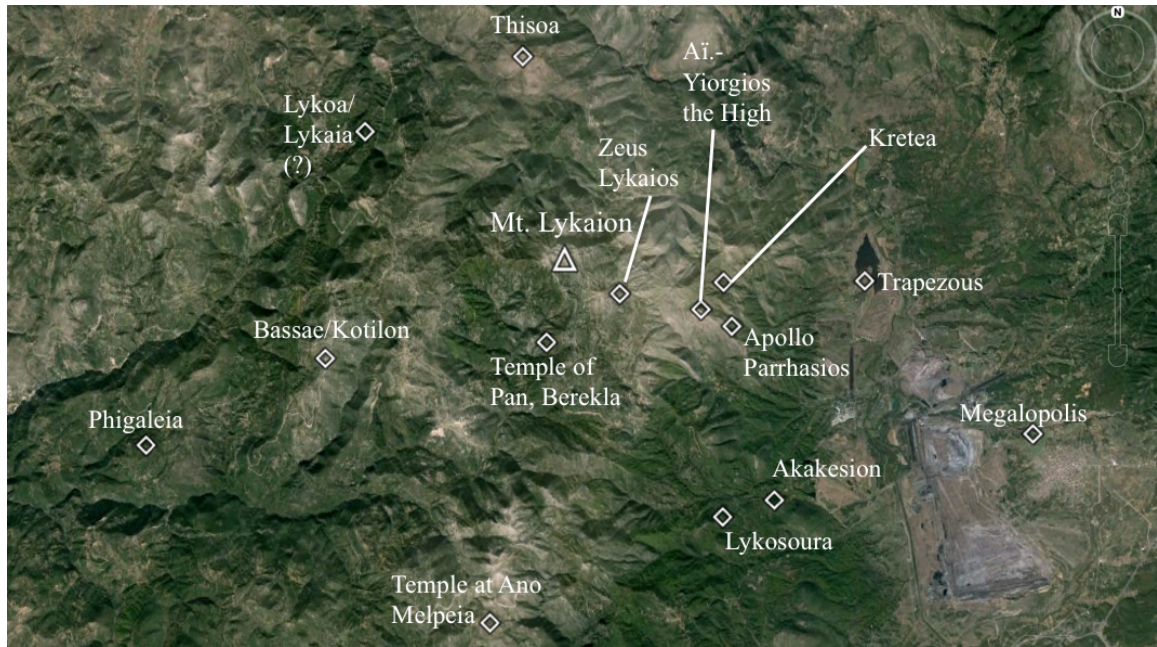
**Figure 13a: The
Acropolis of
Lykosoura (photo
by author)**

We know of more settlements in Parrhasia, including Akontion, Basilis, Dasea(i), Proseis, and Thoknia, although their exact locations are unknown.⁴¹⁴ Again, a bit further to the west was Phigaleia, the westernmost Arcadian city in whose territory Bassae was located, and to the north of the sanctuary lay the sites of Thisoa and Lykoa, where at least one more sanctuary was located (I-MTL 17).⁴¹⁵

⁴¹³ Nielsen 2004, p. 507.

⁴¹⁴ Paus. 8.27.4; Nielsen 2004, pp. 506-508.

⁴¹⁵ For Phigaleia, see Cooper and Meyers 1981 and Nielsen 2004, pp. 527-528; for Thisoa, see *RE* VIA, 1936, coll. 292-293, s.v. Thisoa (Meyer); for Lykoa, *RE* XIII, 2 1927, coll. 2229-2231, s.v. Lykaia (1) (Meyer). Roy 2013b provides an up-to-date overview of Parrhasian history, especially for the Classical period.



Map 10: Parrhasia, Sanctuaries and Settlements

b. External Pressure and Internal Reaction

A sense of community gradually emerged in Arcadia by the late sixth century B.C.,⁴¹⁶ and, as we have seen, its definition likely began quite earlier, since the Arcadians constituted a distinct group for Homer in the eighth century B.C. (*Il.* 2.603-614).

Catherine Morgan has pointed to the fact that Arcadia had no “natural feature which could draw communities together,”⁴¹⁷ unlike Achaea or East Locris, which had the Corinthian and Euboean Gulfs to promote exchange and communication. Accordingly, we must search for another common element that characterizes Arcadian identity.

Writing in the first century B.C. and trying to demonstrate that the inhabitants of the Italian mountains were Greeks, Dionysius of Halicarnassus concluded that they were Arcadians, “for fondness of mountains is a trait of the Arcadians” (1.13.3; see Chapter 5,

⁴¹⁶ See Roy 2000b, p. 137, on the possibility that northwestern Arcadia did not become Arcadian until the fifth century B.C.

⁴¹⁷ Morgan 2003, p. 39.

I). Although the source is late, etc, and retrospective, it nevertheless captures the Arcadian way of life and worship, and it grounds the Arcadian sense of identity in the mountainous landscape. Mountains – and particularly sacred mountains – helped to construct the concept of Arcadia.

Strabo, another first century B.C. source, preserves a tradition that included the Parrhasians and Azanians among the oldest peoples of Greece (8.8.1). Despite its late date, it is difficult to set this piece of information aside, for the Azanians had ceased to exist as a coherent group by the end of the Archaic period. What's more, Parrhasia and Azania were distinct zones in early historical times, a fact that is especially indicated by the archaeology.⁴¹⁸

The reason that these two areas were pitted one against the other, however, was not the result of internal development. Rather, local identities had to be subordinated to a larger sense of community. This new status quo resulted from the Spartan conquest of Messenia, on the one hand, and Spartan aggression towards Tegea and Argos, on the other.⁴¹⁹ Argos, which had been closely linked to eastern Arcadia in the eighth century

⁴¹⁸ Morgan 2003, p. 42; Roy and Nielsen 1998, p. 40. On the archaeological context of the Azanians, which reveals connections with Tegea, the Argolid, Achaia, and Corinth, see Morgan 1999, pp. 416-424. The remarks of Morgan 1999, p. 409 on the Archaic figurines from the sanctuary of Pan at Berekla on Mt. Lykaion are especially interesting in this connection: "If the dealers' provenances assigned to many of these figurines are accurate, which is by no means certain, then they seem to be concentrated in this part [the southwest] of Arkadia (which in turn seems unconcerned with the imagery prevalent elsewhere, especially in Azania and the east), and at Berekla of all the shrines on Mt. Lykaion. One might therefore suppose the existence of a social-economic concerns specific to this area, and a particular role for Pan in representing them."

⁴¹⁹ Note again the remarks of Morgan 1999, p. 425 on the archaeology: "Without wishing to imply that Arkadia was simply a passive victim of outside events, the extent to which different parts of the region were naturally linked (culturally and economically) to neighbouring areas (Sparta most obviously, but also Triphylia, Elis, Achaia, Argos, and Messenia in the case of Phigaleia) and were forced to react to the politics of those areas, is central to understanding not only the pattern of differentiation between subzones of Arkadia but also connections between them"; and on identity at p. 429: "The clearest evidence for the deployment of dual (alternative or complementary) tribal and communal identities comes from the Spartan

B.C., became embroiled with Sparta over Kynouria, while Tegea and the eastern Arcadians faced the threat of invasion on two fronts, the first by a direct march northward up into the plain of Tegea, the second via a flanking maneuver that would take the Spartans past Lykaion before they doubled back to the east along the upper Alpheios valley.

As these campaigns unfolded, the distinctiveness of east and west gradually came into sharper relief, and, by the middle of the sixth century B.C., it became apparent that the two groups had to work together in order to resist outright conquest. The Messenian Wars had begun in the eighth century B.C. with Spartan incursions into the region of the upper Pamisos river, from the Stenyklarian Plain to Mt. Ithome.⁴²⁰ This is precisely the district with which Mt. Lykaion had been linked for generations (Chapter 2, *passim*). Warfare continued intermittently throughout the seventh and into the sixth century B.C. and stretched up to the banks of the Neda at Eira, and it was only natural for the residents north of the river to come to the aid of their neighbors. This activity had a profound effect on the local cult sites.

In his work on the sanctuaries at Bassae, Cooper argued that the cult of Apollo was deeply affected by Messenian insurgency against Sparta in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. The military character of the dedications, which include a large amount of miniature arms and armor, were made by Arcadian allies (ἐπίκουροι who fought with the

borders and Azania to the north, both areas where group identity and status might be regularly challenged, or their expression forced in different political contexts.”

⁴²⁰ Hall 2007, p. 174.

Messenians against Sparta) to their patron god Apollo Epikourios.⁴²¹ When things went south for the Messenians, refugees migrated across the Neda and settled with their friends and relatives. Others fled the Peloponnese or were forced to remain at home and lived as helots under Sparta. During the course of this fighting, the city of Phigaleia was eventually captured by the Spartans, an event which Pausanias dated to 659 B.C. (8.39.3-5). The Phigaleians were only able to recover their city with the aid of the Oresthasians, who inhabited the area to the east of Mt. Lykaion in between Parrhasia and Asea, on the northern route that would take Sparta to Tegea.

The sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios could not stay out of this fighting. Lykaion is an easy three hour hike to the east of Bassae, along the route linking the upper Neda valley to that of the Alpheios. Further to the east is the Megalopolis Basin, which, as we have seen, serves as a crossroads linking eastern Messenia, Laconia, southern Arcadia, and Olympia.⁴²² At this point in time, Tegea, which had been resisting Spartan incursions into her own territory,⁴²³ became directly involved in the struggle over this neighboring area.⁴²⁴

It is not coincidental that Laconian style dedications appear at the Ash Altar in the seventh century B.C., in the form of a miniature lead *kouros* and lead wreaths most familiar from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia on the Eurotas river. Spartan interest in the sanctuary is also evident in Alcman's hymn to Zeus Lykaios, which unfortunately

⁴²¹ Cooper 1996, ch. 3; Morgan 1999, pp. 410-411.

⁴²² Pikoulas discovered part of a cart path from Gortyn to Heraia, which is to be identified with this route: Pikoulas 1999, pp. 295-296, no. 45, pp. 304-305; for the routes from Megalopolis to Lykaion and Lykaion to Lykosoura, see pp. 293-295, nos. 43-44.

⁴²³ Hdt. 1.67-68.

⁴²⁴ Pikoulas 1988b, pp. 35-36.

survives only in fragmentary form but may imply that the Lacedaemonians were staking a claim to the region's heritage (*PMGF* F 24). As a result of this warfare, identity in southern Arcadia, from Phigaleia through Oresthasion and on to Tegea, was being redefined through the conflict with Sparta, whose people were also participating in the cults at Bassae and on Mt. Lykaion. Indeed, a fragment of Tyrtaeus that mentions Arcadians, Argives, a trench, and Spartans indicates that the conflict in southwestern Arcadia and northern Messenia was taking on almost pan-Peloponnesian significance (*P.Oxy.* 3316). Here we have a plausible historical scenario for the beginning of the rise in the sanctuary's status from the central Parrhasian shrine to the center of the Arcadian *ethnos*.

But what of the Azanians, whom we seem to have left behind? Once Argos and the eastern Arcadian city of Tegea involved themselves in the southwest, northern Arcadia could not remain idle. Borgeaud determined that the Arkas myth, which told of the birth of the first Arcadian and his mother Kallisto's transformation into a bear, was originally set in the north near Kyllene, with Hermes and Maia as the major divine figures.⁴²⁵ M.L. West similarly concluded that this story belongs to the east, encompassing the area from Kyllene to Tegea, and the characters and places attached to the resulting genealogical stemma are all at home in the area of Mt. Kyllene. As West remarks, Arkas' son Elatos is named for the fir trees that grow in the area of Kyllene and

⁴²⁵ Borgeaud 1988, pp. 29-30. These traditions never fully died out, as is evidenced by the fact that Pheneos, the polis under Mt. Kyllene, minted coins around 360 B.C. featuring Hermes in the act of rescuing Arkas; Nielsen 2002, p. 586. Hejnic 1961, pp. 96-97, however, interprets Arkas as a southwestern personage whose name was gradually applied to the northerners.

thus provides a tangible link with the local ecology. He traces the myth back to the mid-eighth century B.C., suggesting that it was elaborated under the influence of Argos.

Accordingly, as Tegea became more and more involved in the southwest, she brought with her traditions that reached up into the north. The Tegeans, whose mythical genealogy was firmly attached to the rest of the easterners, provided the linchpin necessary for the eventual amalgamation of the two distinct myths of descent. At this point Arkas, the son of Kallisto and father of Azan, Apheidas, and Elatos, who were the ancestors of the Azanians, Tegeans, and Stymphalians, respectively, met Lykaon, son of the autochthon Pelasgos.

However, just as the struggle with Sparta redefined the sanctuary of Zeus, a struggle likewise accompanied the amalgamation of these two separate traditions. We only have access to the very end of this process in the poets and mythographers of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. We must imagine that the initial stages, which Hall has described as “the living context in which [the genealogical myths] originally circulated and functioned,” were far more dynamic.⁴²⁶

To begin with, we note a debate over primacy that was accompanied by eastern Arcadia’s lingering connection with the Argolid. According to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, the autochthonous Pelasgos fathered Lykaon (frg. 161 Merkelbach-West), while Kallisto was not the latter’s daughter but rather a nymph (frg. 163 Merkelbach-West).⁴²⁷

⁴²⁶ Hall 1997, p. 78.

⁴²⁷ Janko 1982, p. 248, n. 38 gives the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* a *terminus post quem* of 720 B.C., and his chart (p. 200, fig. 4) places it ca. 690 B.C. West 1985, p. 136, with whom more scholars agree,

This seems to have been the original state of affairs, with Pelasgos and Lykaon on Mt. Lykaion and Kallisto on Kyllene. Writing in the late sixth century or early fifth century B.C., Akousilaos of Argos made Pelasgos a brother of the hero Argos and father of Lykaon.⁴²⁸ The ancient connection that linked eastern Arcadia and Argos may be behind this version. Eumelos (frg. 31 West) and the Hesiodic *Astronomy* made Kallisto a daughter of Lykaon and Arkas the son of Kallisto.⁴²⁹ In the sixth century B.C., Asios of Samos called Kallisto the daughter of Nyktimos, a son of Lykaon.⁴³⁰ The Arcadian stemma of the early fifth century B.C. mythographer and genealogist Pherekydes of Athens has Pelasgos and Deianeira produce the hero Lykaon. In turn, Lykaon marries the nymph Kyllene, who gives her name to the mountain.⁴³¹ Similarly, Hyginus, a later source contemporary with Strabo, made Lykaon the founder of the Hermes temple on Mt. Kyllene (*Fab.* 225). Conversely, in a tradition preserved in Pseudo-Apollodorus' *Mythological Library*, Lykaon is called the son of Pelasgos and Kyllene (3.8.1), and this idea has been traced back to the Archaic period as well.⁴³²

All of this material derives from the Archaic period, even if we cannot be certain about the chronology. It is of interest that the Hesiodic corpus calls Kallisto both one of

dates it to 580-520 B.C., but on p. 155 he dates the Arkas genealogy to the second half of the eighth century B.C.

⁴²⁸ *BNJ* 2 F 25b, with commentary by Toye.

⁴²⁹ Fowler 2013, pp. 104-105. This version is included in frg. 163 Merkelbach-West, in which it is not always easy to determine what was in Hesiod and what comes from elsewhere.

⁴³⁰ Frg. 9 West. The form of the name is Nykteus. Asios also made Pelasgos autochthonous (frg. 9 West).

⁴³¹ *BNJ* 3 F 156. Kyllene is also the wife of Lykaon in schol. Eur. *Or.* 1646.

⁴³² West 1985, pp. 91-93 suggests that this last version is derived from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. Akousilaos of Argos is seen as the source of the Lykaon-Kyllene marriage. Cf. the quote from p. 154: "To judge from Apollodorus' version of the list and from the few names attested for the Hesiodic poem (Lykaon, Pallas, Phellos), it covered more or less the whole of Arcadia. It signifies the union of all the communities of Arcadia in the common cult of Zeus Lykaios at Mt. Lykaion." For the myths involving Kyllene, see also Fowler 2013, pp. 108-109, who on p. 24 derives *BNJ* 3 F 156 (Pherekydes) from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.

the nymphs and the daughter of Lykaon, which may suggest that the poet chose one or the other depending upon his audience. It certainly implies that by the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. the identities of Kallisto and her son Arkas were in flux, with one version claiming that she lived on Mt. Lykaion as the daughter of Lykaon.

The Azanians and Parrhasians made further claims and counterclaims. According to one tradition, Lykosoura was the royal city of Kleitor, son of Azan, both mythical forerunners of the Azanians, the former being the namesake of the powerful Azanian polis of Kleitor (Paus. 8.4.5); another story made Azan inherit both Azania and Parrhasia (schol. Dion. Perieg. 415). A fragment of the Hellenistic author Euphorion of Chalkis claimed that Zeus was born in Azania (Apuleius *De orthog.* 51),⁴³³ which may be evidence for an unambiguous challenge to the Lykaion myth, although the date of the source is admittedly late. On the other hand, the name *Azanes* can be analyzed through folk etymology as ‘those without Zeus’ (Ζάυν). While we have no clear evidence that this interpretation was used to differentiate the Azanians from the southwestern Arcadians, it would not have taken much of a leap to do so.⁴³⁴ Similarly, Pan was sometimes considered the son of Hermes (*h.Pan*), but at other times – for instance in Epimenides (Chapter 1, V) – the son of Zeus Lykaïos and Kallisto and thus the brother of Arkas.⁴³⁵ The southwestern Arcadians made their own claim on Hermes as well, making him the

⁴³³ On these passages, see Roy and Nielsen 1998, pp. 11-12, who assign the Lykosoura, Azan, and Parrhasia stories to the 360s B.C. The first half of the fourth century B.C. is only a *terminus ante quem*; the disappearance of the Azanians prior to the Classical period points to an earlier context for all this material.

⁴³⁴ Callimachus made use of the meaning in his *Hymn to Zeus* (19-20; Stephens 2015, p. 60).

⁴³⁵ *BNJ* 457 F 9; see Chapter 1, V. On myths about the birth of Pan, see Jost 1985, pp. 460-464. Tegea and Mantinea subsequently claimed his birth as well, the latter perhaps in the fifth century B.C., which makes sense if we consider the aspirations of the Mantineans during the Peloponnesian War (see below, Chapter 3, II, c).

foster-son of Lykaon's son Akakos, who reared him at Akakesion under Mt. Lykaion (Paus. 8.36.10).⁴³⁶

These rival traditions date to a time when there was an attempt to amalgamate the originally distinct genealogies and myths of eastern and western Arcadia. Although this process certainly continued in later times, it is unlikely that it began after the early fifth century B.C., at which time Zeus Lykaios was depicted on coins with the legend ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ ('Arcadian'), an occurrence which provides a plausible *terminus ante quem*. The beginning of the integration must therefore be associated with the historical conditions described earlier. The ascendancy of the Lykaian version of Arcadian history is ultimately due to the fact that it offered an identity for all of the central Peloponnesians that was distinct from that of their ambitious and aggressive neighbors, who would come to claim Dorian identity and descent from Herakles. In this connection, it is worth noting that the only other Peloponnesians that Herodotus says were autochthonous were the Kynourians, who inhabited an area contested by the Spartans and Argives (Hdt. 8.73).

In this same vein, it is interesting to note that consolidation took place at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios during the late seventh century B.C., around the same time that we first find Arkas as the descendant of Lykaon. In addition to work at the Ash Altar, the earliest activity in the Lower Sanctuary occurred in the same century.⁴³⁷ A series of statuettes found by Kourouniotis include seventh, sixth, and fifth century B.C. local types

⁴³⁶ Jost 1994, p. 228 attributes this legend to the founders of the Arcadian League in the fourth century B.C.

⁴³⁷ Romano and Voyatzis 2014, pp. 625-626, 628, 632; Romano and Voyatzis 2015, pp. 239, 242, 243, nos. 39-40, 262-263.

found primarily in the Parrhasian sanctuaries of Lykaion, Lykosoura, and Berekla,⁴³⁸ but one sixth century B.C. image of Zeus derives from a Corinthian workshop,⁴³⁹ and another has parallels with material from Olympia and northwest Greece.⁴⁴⁰ Additionally, sixth century B.C. Aeginetan coins found their way to the Altar.⁴⁴¹ It is also pertinent that the earliest phases at the sanctuary of Artemis Lykoatis date to the late seventh century B.C. Björn Forsén has suggested that the epithet Lykoatis derives from Artemis' role in the myth of Kallisto on Mt. Lykaion. Inscribed roof tiles demonstrate that Artemis was worshipped together with Despoina, the goddess of Lykosoura. It is almost as if, along with the consolidation of the genealogical traditions, other cultural features from Mt. Lykaion – such as *LYK*- names and the goddess Despoina – spread further to the east.⁴⁴²

c. Zeus Lykaios, God of Arcadia



Figure 14:
APKAΔIKON Coinage
(wikimediacommons)

⁴³⁸ Kourouniotis 1904, coll. 178-210; for the Arcadian bronzes, see Lamb 1925-1926; Jost 1975; Chapter 3, II, d.

⁴³⁹ Jost 1985, p. 251 cites the opinion that it derives from a Corinthian workshop.

⁴⁴⁰ Themelis 2004, 148-150.

⁴⁴¹ Romano and Voyatzis 2014, pp. 620, nos. 112, 622; for the coins, pp. 622-623, nos. 116-118.

⁴⁴² See Forsén's lecture of 12-22-2011 at <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/news/newsDetails/videocast-bjoern-forsen-university-of-helsinki-sanctuary-of-secrets/>. For the archaeology of Artemis Lykoatis, I cite his paper "Sanctuary, tribe and poleis – Some reflections based on the finds from the sanctuary of Artemis Lykoatis," delivered on 2-11-2016.

In the fifth century B.C., the completion of the process that made Mt. Lykaion the preeminent shrine of Arcadia is evident in the ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ coinage referenced above. =It is possible that the coins, which exhibit three separate die sequences, were used by individual poleis to claim influence over the rest of the Arcadians through their patron god, Zeus Lykaios, and that the agonistic festival in honor of Zeus Lykaios was a venue for political as well as athletic competition.⁴⁴³ Roy has recently argued, however, that the coinage was issued by the Parrhasians, and he interprets the female deity on the reverse as Despoina. For Roy, the coinage is directly linked to the Lykaia festival, which was in his opinion administered by the Parrhasians.⁴⁴⁴ In any event, the use of divinities native to Mt. Lykaion with the legend ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ implies: 1) that the Parrhasian sanctuaries were by now intimately tied with Arcadian identity and 2) that authority over Mt. Lykaion could potentially confer some kind of leadership role over Arcadia as a whole.⁴⁴⁵

Regardless of the reason for the coinage, the sanctuary continued to play a role in Spartan affairs. We learn from Thucydides that the Spartan king Pleistoanax spent a long exile at Lykaion in the second half of the fifth century B.C. (5.16.3), and in the summer of 421 B.C. a group of Parrhasians summoned Pleistoanax to liberate them from the Mantineans (5.33.1-3). The Mantineans had taken over the area in their attempt to acquire regional hegemony.⁴⁴⁶ During this process, they also made a point of procuring the bones of Arkas from Mt. Mainalon (Paus. 8.9.3-4), and the move against Parrhasia must have

⁴⁴³ On the coinage, see Appendix IV.

⁴⁴⁴ Roy 2013b, pp. 32-40.

⁴⁴⁵ Jost 1985, p. 184 suggests that the coinage indicates federal status for the Zeus Lykaios sanctuary already in the fifth century B.C. This may go too far, but the general idea (cf. her comments at p. 239) is valid.

⁴⁴⁶ Thuc. 5.28.3-29.2 (Mantinean acquisition of empire); on this matter see Pikoulas 1990; Nielsen 2002, pp. 367-372; Roy 2013b, pp. 25-28.

been motivated by a desire to control the Zeus sanctuary and its festival. Both episodes point to Arcadian factionalism played out through religious propaganda, and the fact that a group of Parrhasians recalled Pleistoanax indicates that there were ties of *xenia* linking local notables with elite Spartans.⁴⁴⁷

Ultimately, this phase of the Peloponnesian war, which resulted in the battle of Mantinea in 418 B.C.,⁴⁴⁸ can be read as the beginning of the movement that would result in the formation of the Arcadian League. Throughout the fifth century B.C., the Arcadians had occasionally come into conflict with Sparta, although Tegea seems always to have taken the lead in these campaigns. After Plataia, we hear of the defeat of the Tegeans and Argives at Tegea (Hdt. 9.35), and some years later all the Arcadians except the Mantineans were defeated at Dipsaia. From 421-418 B.C., however, the Mantineans took up the anti-Spartan banner. Given that the Mantineans would eventually succeed in establishing the Arcadian League several generations later, it seems that identity in Arcadia was once again being defined through action by the Spartans and the subsequent Arcadian reaction.

Tegea, which had historically led the anti-Spartan campaigns, was sufficiently beaten into submission. Mantinea was now more vigorous thanks in part to the fact that Tegea had shielded her each time the Spartans marched up into southeastern Arcadia. Taking advantage of this momentum, the Mantineans keyed in on the most significant aspects of Arcadian myth and religion in order to strengthen their claim to hegemony. It

⁴⁴⁷ Roy 2013b, p. 27 suggests that there were two factions in Parrhasia at this time, one pro-Mantinean and one pro-Spartan. Pretzler 1999, pp. 100-106 highlights the at times very positive relationships between Sparta and individual Arcadian communities, and the fact that incorporation of the Arcadians into the Peloponnesian League “contributed to the consolidation of Arcadian ethnicity” (p. 102).

⁴⁴⁸ Thuc. 5.57-81.

is telling that the two facts we know about Mantinea's exploitation of Arcadian genealogy and mythology deal precisely with those two elements that the earlier Arcadians had struggled to integrate, namely, the northern hero Arkas and Mt. Lykaion, the homeland of the autochthonous Pelasgos and Lykaon.

Although the Mantineans had failed in the previous century, their descendants, along with the neighboring Tegeans, once again recognized the necessity of incorporating Zeus Lykaios, his cult, and the local myths when they formed the Arcadian federal state in the aftermath of the Spartan defeat at Leuktra in 371 B.C.⁴⁴⁹ This *koinon* of the Arcadians underwent a meteoric rise during the course of the 360s that resulted in the foundation of a new federal city at Megalopolis (371-367 B.C.),⁴⁵⁰ the acquisition of territories formerly controlled by Sparta and Elis, and, for a brief time, control of the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. The chief architect of this League was the Mantinean Lykomedes. Supreme authority to make decisions resided in an assembly of all adult male citizens of the member communities, the *Myrioi*. Significantly, member states were allowed to choose their own constitutions. A supreme magistrate with military powers, the *strategos*, was elected by the assembly. Additionally, we have evidence for a *boule* and a board of officials, the *damiorgoi*, who seem to have managed day-to-day affairs. There were 50 *damiorgoi* in the 360s B.C., a number that has encouraged comparison with the *prytaneis* of Athens.⁴⁵¹ Xenophon speaks of ἄρχοντες, whose identification is

⁴⁴⁹ On the circumstances of foundation of the Arcadian League, see Appendix V.

⁴⁵⁰ On the synoecism of Megalopolis, see Appendix VI.

⁴⁵¹ For more on the structure and governance of the League, see Appendix V.

unclear. The League was referred to officially as οἱ Ἀρκάδες (internally attested), alongside which τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν appears in literary sources.⁴⁵²

After the acquisition of Olympia, disagreement over the use of sacred funds for the upkeep of standing military forces (the *eparitōi*) resulted in a breach between the federal magistrates and the Mantineans. The magistrates' failed attempt to have the Mantineans condemned was followed by a successful vote of the *Myrioi* to ban the use of funds from Olympia. Without money to pay the standing troops, the wealthy began to take control of this important institution. Fearful of an accompanying shift in federal policy in favor of Sparta, the faction led by Megalopolis and Tegea called in the Thebans, while the Mantineans and their partisans in northern Arcadia went over to Athens and Sparta. The subsequent battle at Mantinea (362 B.C.) pitted the Thebans and their Tegean and Megalopolitan allies against Athens, Sparta, and the Mantinean group. For the next two decades, there seem to have been two entities claiming to be the Arcadian League, one centered upon Mantinea and including northern Arcadia, the other dominated by Megalopolis and Tegea.⁴⁵³

As far as the connection between Zeus Lykaios and the League is concerned, first of all we know of three subsidiary shrines of the god: one in the federal capital of Megalopolis, a second near Tegea, and a third in the vicinity of Mantinea.⁴⁵⁴ Unfortunately, the date of the foundation of these shrines is unknown, but it is plausible to argue that they were connected with the League. Secondly, we have a series of staters

⁴⁵² Self-description politically as Ἀρκάδες (*IG* V, 2.1, *SEG* 22 339 [restored]). The polity itself called τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν: Busolt 1926, p. 1405; τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων on *IG* IV 616 also exhibits the official use of οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

⁴⁵³ On the history of the League subsequent to the battle of Mantinea, see Chapter 3, III, a.

⁴⁵⁴ Megalopolis: Paus. 8.30.2; Tegea: Paus. 8.53.11; near Mantinea: I-MTL 54.

dating to the 360s B.C. that featured Zeus Lykaios on the obverse and Pan on the reverse accompanied by the legend APK.⁴⁵⁵



Figure 15: Stater of Megalopolis, 360s B.C. (cngcoins.com)

These were apparently minted at Megalopolis, itself the result of Arcadian federal policy. Other member cities continued to mint local coins, but the legend APK strongly suggests that the images on the Megalopolis coins were meant to advertise federal ideology.⁴⁵⁶ The use of Zeus Lykaios had a precedent in the fifth century B.C. APKAΔΙΚON coinage, and the addition of Pan offers a further connection with Mt. Lykaion. As we have seen, Pan had several sanctuaries on the mountain, one directly associated with that of Zeus Lykaios.⁴⁵⁷ It is interesting that these two figures – Zeus Lykaios and Pan – were paired in the celebration of the Lykaia, for inscriptions reveal a system of rotation according to which the priest of Zeus presided at one festival, the

⁴⁵⁵ Cook 1914, pp. 79-80, with earlier bibliography. Pan is represented as a human with horns. He sits on a rock, over which he has spread his cloak, and holds a throwing-stick (*lagobolon*) in his right hand. A syrinx lies at his feet. These were staters (i.e., 2 drachma coins). On some of the coins the mountain is labeled OAY or OAYM, which was interpreted by earlier scholars as designating Arcadian Olympus, i.e., Lykaion (Paus. 8.38.2; not mentioned by in *RE* XVII, 2, 1937, coll. 2508-2509 (Schwabacher). Another group has XAPI, which has led scholars to assume that both are abbreviated names of mint magistrates, or – without valid grounds in Schwabacher's opinion – that OAY(M) refers to the Olympia of 364, while XAPI derives from the agonistic festival of the Charisia (or Charitesia) or the hero Charisios, eponymous hero of Arcadian Charisiai). See also Caspari 1917, pp. 170-171; Thompson 1939, p. 143; Thompson 1968, pp. 83-84; Jost 1985, p. 184; Gerin 1986; Nielsen 2002, p. 140, with n. 147; Jost 2007, pp. 265-266.

⁴⁵⁶ The legend should be interpreted APK(ΑΔΩΝ), the official label of the League (*IG* V, 2.1; Nielsen 2002, p. 149, n. 452).

⁴⁵⁷ See above, Chapter 3, II, a.

priest of Pan at the next (I-MTL 4-5). Perhaps the early confederate coinage drew part of its inspiration from this custom, a fact that would allow us to connect a federal act (minting coins) with festival practice.⁴⁵⁸

Thirdly, the League set up a statue group and accompanying epigram at Delphi that strongly endorsed the primacy of the Lykaion traditions (I-MTL 40):

Πύθι' Ἀπολλων [ἄ]γαξ, τάδ' [ἀγάλματ' ἔδωκεν ἀπαρχάς] /
αὐτόχθων ἱερᾶς λαὸς [ἀπ' Ἀρκαδί]ας / Νίκηγ Καλλιστώ τε
Λυκαν[ίδ]α, τῇ πο[τ' ἐμίχθη] / Ζεύς, ἱεροῦ δὲ γένους Ἀρκα[δ']
ἔφυσε κό[ρον·] / ἐκ τοῦδ' ἦν Ἑλατος καὶ Ἀφει[δ]ας ἡδὲ κα[ὶ]
Ἀζάν,] / τοὺς δ' Ἐρατὸν νύμφα γείνατ' [ἐ]ν Ἀρκαδί[αι·] /
Λαοδάμεια δ' ἔτικτε Τρίφυλον, παῖς Ἀ[μύκλαντος]· / Γογγύλου ἐκ
κούρας δ' ἦν Ἀμιλοῦς Ἐρα[σος]· / τῶνδε σοι ἐκγενέται
Λακεδαιμόνα δη[ιώσαντες] / Ἀρκάδες ἔστησαν μνήμ'
ἐπιγινόμενοις.

Lord Pythian Apollo, the autochthonous people from sacred Arcadia gave these images as first-fruits. Nike, and Kallisto, daughter of Lykaon, with whom Zeus once had intercourse and brought forth the boy Arkas, of sacred race. His sons were Elatos, Apheidas, and Azan, whom the nymph Erato bore in Arcadia. But Laodameia, child of Amyklas, bore Triphylos. Erasos was born from Amilo, daughter of Gongylos. In your honor did their descendants, the Arcadians, set up this monument for posterity after ravaging Lacedaemon.

This dedication is dated 370-368 B.C., and – as is evident – the inscription traces the descent of all Arcadians to Arkas, son of Kallisto, the daughter of Lykaon. The descendants of Arkas are listed as Elatos, Apheidas, Azan, Triphylos, and Erasos. Apheidas was a hero associated with Tegea and the southeast, Elatos and Azan with the north and northeast (i.e., Azania), Erasos with Orchomenos, and Triphylos with the

⁴⁵⁸ On the custom, see Jost 1985, p. 268, n. 5, who believes the presence of Pan's priest next to Zeus' was due to proximity of the shrines. Burkert 1983, pp. 92-93 suggests that there is greater religious significance in the antithesis represented by Zeus/Pan. As for the link between the coins and the festival, I think it significant that Pan is represented with the physique of an athlete.

newly acquired Arcadian territory of Lepreon to the west of Mt. Lykaion. This necessarily means that, in this particular view of Arcadian history, all Arcadians are descended from Lykaon and Zeus, who had lain with Kallisto. Thus, the original homeland of the Arcadians is Mt. Lykaion, where, according to the southwestern tradition, Lykaon and Kallisto (here, Λυκάων[ίδ]α) spent their lives. Furthermore, all Arcadians share in the blood of Zeus Lykaios, father of Arkas. It is significant that, although the early *koinon* seems to have been dominated by Mantinea, Tegea, and Kleitor,⁴⁵⁹ all located in the east or north, there is in this dedication stress on the Lykaian (i.e., southwestern) origin of Arkas.⁴⁶⁰ This suggests that from the beginning of the Arcadian federal movement it was recognized that Mt. Lykaion was key for the successful subordination of local ambitions in favor of federal ones. This point should come as no great surprise, given that the Mantineans had recognized the same thing in 421 B.C.

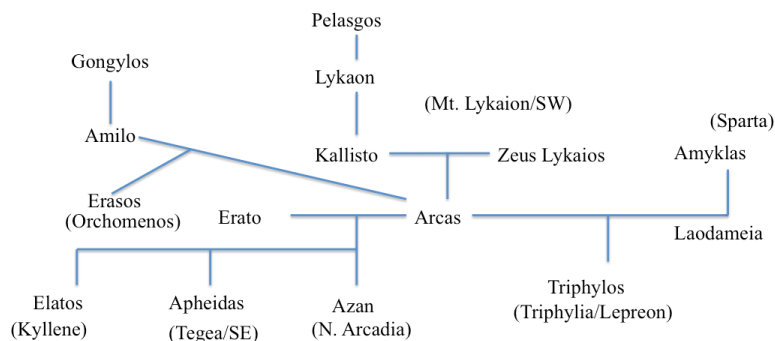


Figure 16: Arcadian Genealogy according to I-MTL 40

The dedication highlights the dynamic nature of Arcadian heroic genealogy, and we get the sense that the League endorsed a version tailored to emphasize contemporary

⁴⁵⁹ A point indicated by the presence of these three cities on the board of oikists for Megalopolis (Paus. 8.27.2).

⁴⁶⁰ See Hejnic 1961, p. 80 on southwestern Arcadia's place in the official Arcadian tradition.

political developments. To this end, the epigram draws on ancient and well-established local traditions and at the same time creates new ones. The eastern heroes Azan, Apheidas, and Elatos are all sons of Arkas and the nymph Erato. These communities are thus firmly attached to the southwestern Arcadian cult on Mt. Lykaion, by now home to both Arkas and Erato (Paus. 8.37.11-12). Here we see the product of centuries of rivalry that had pitted Azanian traditions against those of Parrhasia. Triphylos' mother, however, is Laodameia, daughter of Amyklas. Laodameia represents the Spartan contribution to the creation of Triphylian identity at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century B.C.⁴⁶¹ Similarly, the connection of Erasos with Orchomenos makes sense of recent political history, for this polis had initially resisted incorporation into the League (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11). The inclusion of a separate statue of its hero that highlighted his attachment to the stemma could accordingly represent a conciliatory sentiment on the part of the League, whose existence could only be assured if the entirety of the Arcadian *ethnos* was on board.⁴⁶² In the same way, even the monument's location reflected contemporary politics: it was placed in front of the Spartan stoa and thereby cut off any use that the latter structure had as a seating area. Furthermore, the Arcadians sited their monument directly across from the earlier Spartan dedication commemorating their victory at Aigospotamoi.⁴⁶³ Nielsen has suggested that the Arcadian heroes represented at Delphi were also tied to Olympia, and they thus foreshadowed the Arcadian takeover of this sanctuary several years later.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶¹ Luraghi 2008, p. 213, n. 13; Ruggeri 2009, pp. 49-64; the idea goes back to Nilsson 1951, p. 80.

⁴⁶² On Erasos and Orchomenos, see Nielsen 2002, p. 249 and *IG* V, 2, p. ix, ll. 90-94.

⁴⁶³ Scott 2008; Scott 2010, p. 117.

⁴⁶⁴ Nielsen 2007, p. 38.

Finally, this same rhetoric is found in a speech that Xenophon ascribes to Lykomedes of Mantinea (*Hell.* 7.1.23).⁴⁶⁵ This speech occurred in the aftermath of Thebes' second invasion of the Peloponnese in 369 B.C.⁴⁶⁶ Here Lykomedes highlights qualities of the Arcadians particularly associated with Mt. Lykaion.⁴⁶⁷ The first and most important of these, autochthony, is inextricably linked with Lykaon, son of the autochthonous Pelasgos, and is also found on the Delphi dedication. If autochthony was considered a prerequisite for Arcadian identity, the landscape of Mt. Lykaion becomes the foundation of that identity.⁴⁶⁸ The second part of Lykomedes' boast, that concerning the military prowess of the Arcadians, seems to draw on traditions first recorded in the *Iliad*'s Catalogue of Ships (2.591-602).⁴⁶⁹ Another connection with local religious topography is found in Lykomedes' stress on Arcadian excellence as ἐπικούροι, with

⁴⁶⁵ ἐγγενόμενος δέ τις Λυκομήδης Μαντινεύς, γένει τε οὐδενὸς ἐνδεῆς χρήμασί τε προήκων καὶ ἄλλως φιλότιμος, οὗτος ἐνέπλησε φρονήματος τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, λέγων ὡς μόνοις μὲν αὐτοῖς πατρὶς Πελοπόννησος εἴη, μόνοι γὰρ αὐτόχθονες ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῖεν, πλεῖστον δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φύλων τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν εἶη καὶ σώματα ἐγκρατέστατα ἔχοι. καὶ ἀλκιμωτάτους δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπεδείκνυε, τεκμήρια παρεχόμενος ὡς ἐπικούρων ὁπότε δεηθεῖέν τινες, οὐδένας ἥρουντο ἀντ' Ἀρκάδων. ("There appeared a certain Lykomedes, a Mantinean who lacked nothing as far as lineage was concerned. He was quite wealthy and otherwise ambitious. In any event, this man filled the Arcadians with high spirit by saying that they alone held the Peloponnese as their ancestral land, because the Arcadians were the only autochthonous people who lived there. Furthermore, he said that of the Hellenic tribes the Arcadians were the most numerous and possessed the strongest physiques. Their tribe also produced the bravest warriors, and as evidence for the claim he adduced the fact that whenever anyone needed *epikouroi* the Arcadians were the first choice.")

⁴⁶⁶ On the chronology, see Buckler 1980, pp. 243 and 267.

⁴⁶⁷ Pretzler 2009, pp. 88-91, who stresses that "Lykomedes speech singles out Arcadian prowess in warfare, the Arcadian quality most relevant for a claim to political power."

⁴⁶⁸ The fact that the landscape of Mt. Lykaion is what is imagined here is underscored by the designation of Kallisto in the epigram: Καλλιστώ τε Λυκαγ[ίδ]α.

⁴⁶⁹ See Chapter 1, III, a.

which he may have intended to bring Apollo Epikourios to mind.⁴⁷⁰ Note that this god's cult statue had been transferred to Megalopolis after the city's foundation.⁴⁷¹

Based on archaeological criteria, the excavators of Mt. Lykaion have suggested that construction at the Lower Sanctuary commenced in the second quarter of the fourth century B.C.⁴⁷² This date would associate work at the sanctuary with the foundation of Megalopolis, one of whose civic tribes was named after Zeus Lykaios.⁴⁷³ I-MTL 41 (third/second century B.C.), an inscribed *proedrion* indicating a seating section in the theater, reads [Λυ]καίας, and on seat VI is the *phyle* of Πανίας, the other god associated with the Lykaion sanctuary. I-MTL 42 is a theater ticket of someone who belonged to the Lykaia phyle (Λυκαία / τρίτου; fourth/third century B.C.). The board of oikists for the Great City shows that it was very much a federal project, for represented are the poleis of Mantinea, Tegea, and Kleitor, along with the tribal states of Parrhasia and Mainalia. We know from Pausanias that Lykomedes was one of the Mantinean oikists, and it has been suggested that those from Parrhasia, Possikrates and Theoxenos, were partially responsible for the early federal mint.⁴⁷⁴ In this connection, it is of interest that an enigmatic and confused passage (schol. Dion. Perieg. 415) mentions common revenues and the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios, but the exact meaning is unclear and we cannot be

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. Pretzler 2009, p. 91: "The audience's knowledge of Arcadian warriors' prowess in mercenary service would help to emphasize the point the speaker is trying to make, although in this context the reference is primarily to Arcadians fighting as (unpaid!) allies of the large powers in Greece, namely Sparta and recently also Thebes."

⁴⁷¹ Paus. 8.30.3-4.

⁴⁷² Romano and Voyatzis 2015, pp. 262-263.

⁴⁷³ On these inscriptions, see Jones 1987, pp. 135-138. Other inscriptions (I-MTL 47, 49) show that by the time of Hadrian the tribe's name had become Λυκαειτῶν.

⁴⁷⁴ Head 1911, p. 445.

sure that it refers to the League.⁴⁷⁵ In any case, I-MTL 50 and 51 demonstrate that the sanctuary was considered an appropriate venue for setting up public documents that recorded dealings with foreign communities, as we should expect of a sanctuary with more than just local significance.

Even with all of this evidence at their disposal, scholars still disagree about the nature of the connection between Mt. Lykaion and the Arcadian federal state. For some, the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios provided a solid backbone around which political unity could be constructed.⁴⁷⁶ The sanctuary, it is argued, had earlier been a tangible symbol of unity for the Arcadian *ethnos*, and, in the course of the League's establishment, it became a true federal sanctuary. Others hold that, while the sanctuary certainly embodied and expressed the ethnic unity of Arcadia, it was not explicitly political or necessarily formally tied to the League.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁵ Nielsen 2013, p. 238, n. 93.

⁴⁷⁶ Francotte 1907, pp. 101, 116 associates the two: "La nation n'existe qu'au point de vue religieux: les Arcadiens honorent tous ensemble Zeus Lykaios. Plus tard, ils se constitueront en une unité politique par le moyen d'une confédération." He is followed by Braunert and Petersen 1972, p. 86; Jost 1985, p. 239, 1994, pp. 227-228; Beck 1997, pp. 70, 76, n. 59, 189-191.

⁴⁷⁷ Tsiolis 1995, p. 53, n. 13; Roy 2007, p. 291; Nielsen 2013.

An inscribed bronze document discovered by Kourouniotis in the Lower

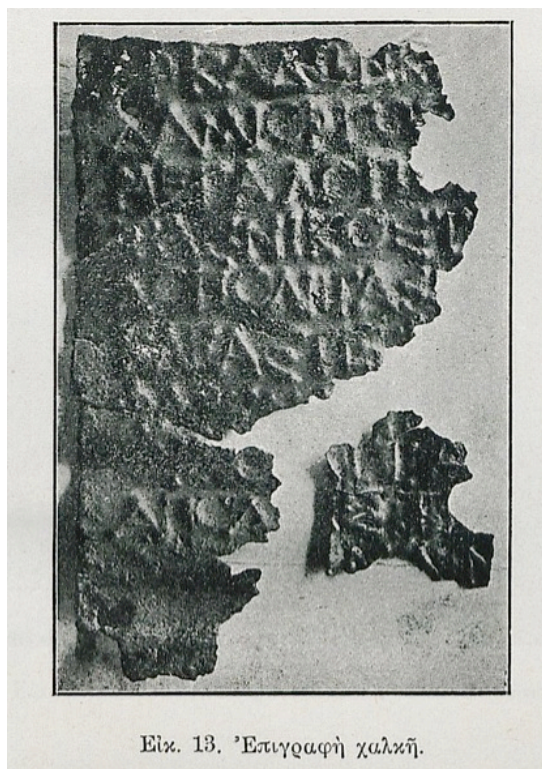


Figure 17: I-MTL 3 (source Kourouniotis 1909, fig. 3)

Sanctuary but long neglected confirms the recent archaeological dating of the sanctuary and hints towards a relationship between the League and the sanctuary (I-MTL 3). Here we can restore the name of a Kynourian, a member of an Arcadian tribal community which ceased to exist after the 360s B.C. This provides us with a secure *terminus ante quem* for the inscription. It has already been mentioned that the Arcadian League had 50

officials called *damiorgoi*. These officers may also have been the civic officials of their

individual communities.⁴⁷⁸ Thanks to *IG* V, 2.1, which dates to 366-363 B.C., we know that the *damiorgoi* were unevenly distributed among the different member groups. At that time Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenos, Kleitor, Heraia, Thelphousa, and the Kynourians each had five, the Mainalians three, Lepreon two, and Megalopolis ten.⁴⁷⁹ Pausanias tells us that the city of Megalopolis eventually consolidated the settlements of the Parrhasians, Kynourians, Eutresians, Aigytae, and Mainalians, so that this document must have been

⁴⁷⁸ Rhodes and Osborne 32.

⁴⁷⁹ *IG* V, 2.1 is a proxeny decree for the Athenian Phylarchos issued by “the *boule* of the Arcadians and the *Myrioi*” (ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ τοῖς μυρίοις). On the numbers, note Roy 2005, p. 268: “It seems that the *damiorgoi* were assigned in such a way as to ensure that none of the older Arkadian communities enjoyed a dominant position, and that these major communities accepted such a distribution.”

inscribed before all of the Kynourians and Mainalians were incorporated into Megalopolis (Paus. 8.27.3-4). This process seems to have been completed by around 360 B.C., and in any case we hear no more of Kynourians and Mainalians as political entities after this inscription.⁴⁸⁰

The document in question reads as follows, with my own restoration to the right⁴⁸¹:

Fragments A/B

1 ΑΡΚΑΔΩΝΚ.	1 Ἀρκάδων κ.[- - - - -]
2 ΔΑΜΙΟΡΓΟΣ	2 δαμιουργός, [ὁ δεῖνα Μεγαλοπολίτας, ὁ δεῖνα]
3 ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠ	3 Μεγαλοπ[ολίτας, ὁ δεῖνα Μεγαλοπολί-]
4 ΤΑΣΝΙΚΟΣΤ	4 τας, Νικόστ[ρατος Μεγαλοπολίτας, ὁ δεῖνα Μεγα-]
5 ΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΣ	5 λοπολίτας, [ὁ δεῖνα Μεγαλοπολ]ίτα[ς, - - -]
6 ΚΛΕΑΣΤΕΓ	6 κλέας Τεγ[εάτας, - - -]ας Τ[εγεάτας?, ὁ δεῖνα]
7 ΦΑΡΕΑΤ	7 Φαρεάτ[ας, ὁ δεῖνα] Μαν[τινεύς?, ὁ δεῖνα Κυν-]
8 ΟΥΡΙΟ	8 ούριο[ς, - - - - -]
9 ΑΠΟΛ	9 Ἀπολ[- - - - -]

Fragment C

ΙΤΑ
ΑΣΤ
ΜΑΝ

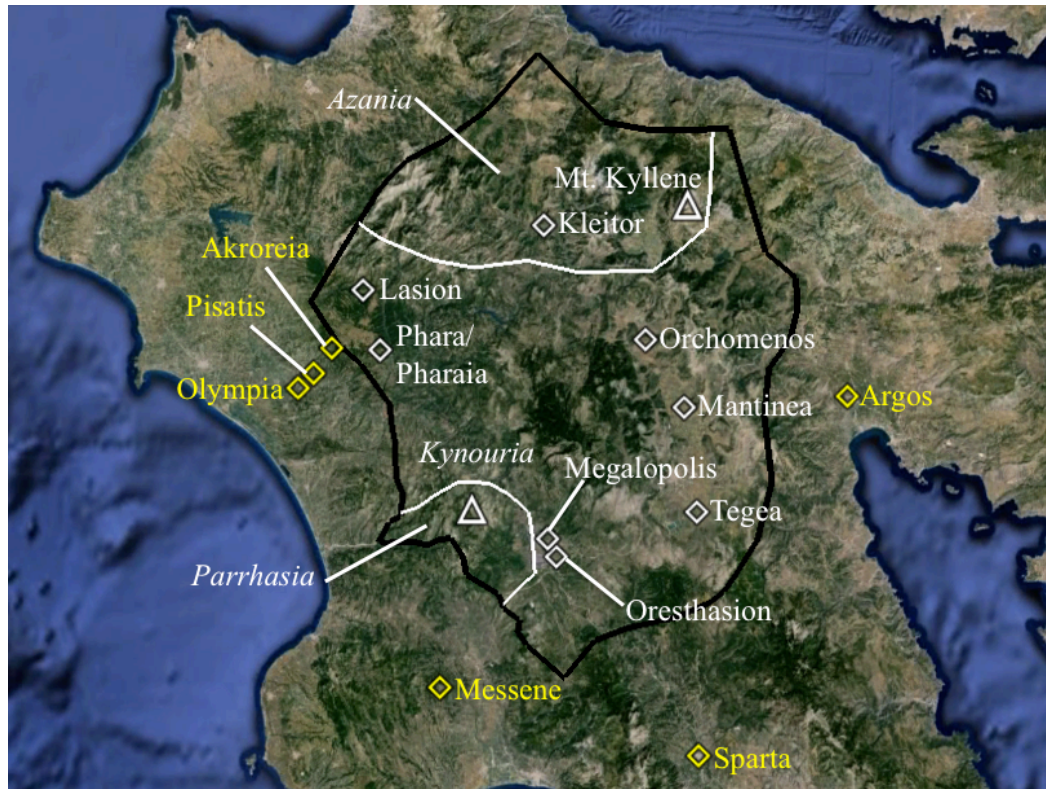
The inscription begins with a reference to the Arcadian League (Ἀρκάδων) and a *damiorgos*, which may indicate that all the individuals listed subsequently were officers of the League. These men are designated by their names and tribal or polis adjectives, including *Megalopolitas*, *Tegeatas*, and *Phareatas*. At the beginning of line 8 the letters ΟΥΡΙΟ are preserved, which could be part of a personal name or of a polis or tribal

⁴⁸⁰ Nielsen 2002, pp. 304-306.

⁴⁸¹ The inscription is broken in three pieces, of which two (a and b) were bonded together. Because we have no measurements for this text, it is difficult to reconstruct it with accuracy. The third fragment, c, was not incorporated into the text of *IG V*, 2.550, but the available photographs make it clear that all three are part of the same text. Lines 3-4 give us some idea of the length of each line, and we can thus cautiously insert fragment c as I have done so, for the sequence ΙΤΑ most probably belongs to Μεγαλοπολ]ίτα[ς. Since the text lists one Megalopolitan after another, and we know that line 6 switches to a Tegean, the above restoration makes good sense.

adjective. No known Arcadian personal names will fit the sequence, and it is not very common in Greek names generally.⁴⁸² As for polis and tribal adjectives in Arcadia, only KYNOYPIOΣ contains these letters. Accordingly, we can restore a Kynourian on this document with a certain degree of confidence, which gives us an indication of its date. A date in the 360s B.C. may also be supported by the text's smallest fragment, which is unread in the *IG* publication. Here traces of the sequence MAN can be made out at the bottom of the plate, which could conceivably refer to a Mantinean officer (Μαντινεύς), although the letters would allow for other restorations, including the name Alkman, who is known to have been a *damiorgos* from Kleitor. Remember that the Mantineans had split from the League by 362 B.C.

⁴⁸² In a search in the online database of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, only 155 turned up, of which 129 were instances of Apatourios, an Ionic name.



Map 11: Places Mentioned in Chapter 3

Similarly, there is a man designated by the adjective *Phareatas*, an obscure term that has not been successfully associated with an Arcadian toponym. This is surprising, however, since we know from Polybius (4.77.5) and Strabo (8.3.32) that there was a place called Φαράϊα or Φηραΐα in Arcadia. Meyer identified this with the modern village of Nemouta, west of the Erymanthos river, close to which Papandreou and Philippon had noted ruins in 1886 and 1892. Nemouta was part of the network of mule paths linking Pyrgos with this part of Arcadia, and there was also a road from Olympia to Nemouta in the 19th century.⁴⁸³ It is probable that this same place was referenced in a list of Delphic *theorodokoi* in the late fifth or early fourth century B.C., in the form ἐν

⁴⁸³ Pritchett 1989, pp. 35-37.

Φάραι.⁴⁸⁴ For confusion about the name of the place (i.e., Φαραία/Φηραία/ἐν Φάραι), compare Lykoa/Lykaia, and for the formation of the ethnic, note that Arcadian Λουσοί has three distinct ethnic adjectives: Λουσεάτας, Λουσιάτας, and Λουσιεύς.⁴⁸⁵

Thus, the Lykaion bronze likely preserves one tribal adjective unknown after 363 B.C., and a so far unnoticed polis adjective that points towards the border with Eleia.⁴⁸⁶ I do not think it a coincidence that a man from this area is found on an Arcadian document dating to the mid-360s B.C., for this is precisely the time when the Arcadians were at war with Elis (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.12-35). The war had started over the Eleans' seizure of Lasion.⁴⁸⁷ After re-capturing Lasion, the Arcadians proceeded to take the bordering region of Akroreia and finally Pisatis and Olympia, where they celebrated the Olympic Games. In the course of this campaigning the Arcadians set up independent Pisatan and Akroreian states. We know this from an inscription set up at Olympia (*SEG* 49 466) that documented alliances linking Arcadia with Pisa and Akroreia in 364 B.C. Note that Meyer's location for Pharaia borders Akroreia.

Accordingly, this inscription should be dated around 365/4 B.C., a time when we would expect there to have been an official from Phara/Pharaia in the Arcadian League, and at a date prior to the disappearance of the Kynourian tribe. In the same way, when the Triphylians joined the League earlier in the 360s B.C., the Arcadians sent a Lepreate as

⁴⁸⁴ *REG* 62 (1949), p. 6, l. 3, with p. 8; where it is accompanied by other Arcadian toponyms; Nielsen 2002, pp. 584-585.

⁴⁸⁵ Nielsen 2004, p. 516. Ethnics terminating in -(ε)άτας (or -(ε)άτης) are frequent enough in Arcadia: Ἀλεάτας, Ἀσεάτης, Λυκοάτας, Τεγεάτας, Φερεάτης.

⁴⁸⁶ On the history of the border between Arcadia and Eleia, see Roy 2000b.

⁴⁸⁷ Roy 2000b, pp. 135, 138, 143-4.

federal ambassador to the Persian king.⁴⁸⁸ We can conclude that the Lower Sanctuary was indeed constructed during this same time, and, although the document is fragmentary, it may imply that construction was undertaken at the Arcadian – and not simply the Megalopolitan or local – level. On the other hand, the inscription could have something to do with the Pisatan and Akroreian alliances. It is often argued that the sanctuary was controlled by Megalopolis from the foundation of the city, but this document indicates a different scenario, one in which the League itself held authority in the sanctuary.⁴⁸⁹ Regardless of the ultimate solution to this question, the inscription should once and for all solve the problem of whether or not Mt. Lykaion was a so-called ‘federal’ sanctuary, that is, tied to the League. Indeed, of the eight inscribed federal documents that we can associate with the League,⁴⁹⁰ four are found at sanctuaries, and two of these are from Mt. Lykaion.

d. The Messenian Dedication at Lykaion

In a digression in book four meant to encourage cooperation between the Messenians and Megalopolitans of his own day, Polybius (4.33.1-3) says that the Arcadians had greatly aided the Messenians during the ancient war of Aristomenes against Sparta, receiving them when they lost their homes, arranging marriages for their daughters, granting them civic rights, and, most strikingly, executing their own *basileus* Aristokrates after he had betrayed the Messenians at the battle of the Great Trench.

⁴⁸⁸ Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.33 and Paus. 6.3.9. We are told at Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.38 that for this particular embassy one of the issues was the relationship of Arcadia and Elis, and that problems ensued when the king favored the latter. Antiochus the Arcadian ambassador from Lepreon then refused the king’s gifts.

⁴⁸⁹ For more on this question, see Chapter 4, IV.

⁴⁹⁰ *IG* V, 2.1 (Tegea), *IG* V, 2.2 (Tegea), *IPArk* 14 (Orchomenos), *IPArk* 15 (Orchomenos), *FD* III.1.3 (Delphi), *SEG* 29 405 (Olympia), I-MTL 3 (Mt. Lykaion), I-MTL 5 (Mt. Lykaion). *IG* IV 616 is from Argos and deals with the Nemea festival; it mentions the League but does not emanate from it.

Pausanias adds that the Messenian survivors were taken to Mt. Lykaion (4.22.2).

Polybius' account is preceded by an epigram that the Messenians purportedly set up near the Altar of Zeus Lykaios. Aristotle's nephew Kallisthenes is cited as the authority for the citation, but it is likely that Polybius knew about the inscription independently, given his Megalopolitan origins.⁴⁹¹ The passage reads (I-MTL 1):⁴⁹²

Οἱ γὰρ Μεσσήνιοι πρὸς ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
Λυκαίου βωμὸν ἀνέθεσαν στήλην ἐν τοῖς κατ' Ἀριστομένην καιροῖς,
καθάπερ καὶ Καλλισθένης φησί, γράψαντες τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο:
Πάντως ὁ χρόνος εὔρε δίκην ἀδίκῳ βασιλῇ,
Εὔρε δὲ Μεσσήνη σὺν Διὶ τὸν προδότην ῥηιδίως.
Χαλεπὸν δὲ λαθεῖν θεὸν ἄνδρ' ἐπίορκον.
Χαῖρε, Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σάω Ἀρκαδίαν.

For the Messenians, in addition to many other offerings, also dedicated a *stèle* near the altar of Zeus Lykaios in the time of Aristomenes, as Kallisthenes also asserts. They inscribed the following: "Inevitably does time uncover justice for an unjust *basileus*; and, with the help of Zeus, easily did Messene discover the traitor. It is a difficult thing for a breaker of oaths to escape god. Hail, Zeus *basileus*, and save Arcadia."

As a local notable from Megalopolis, Polybius had certainly been to the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios, where Pausanias tells us sacrifices were still being conducted in the second century A.D. (Paus. 8.38.7). Moreover, in other passages Polybius expresses interest in this same part of the Zeus sanctuary (7.13.7, 16.12.7).⁴⁹³ He even criticizes the

⁴⁹¹ Jacoby in *FGrH* 124 F 23 excerpted the entirety of 4.33 and assigned it to Kallisthenes. In his commentary (*FGrH* 2D, pp. 424-425), however, he noted that Kallisthenes could not have invented the betrayal of Aristomenes. Prandi 1985, pp. 55-58, on the other hand, suggests that the Olynthian historian took a vague epigram and combined it with the story of Arcadian perfidy. Both scholars agree that Kallisthenes was the first to attempt a history of the Messenian Wars (as part of a digression from his narrative of the foundation of Messene).

⁴⁹² Paus. 4.22.7 reports the same epigram, except that for Μεσσήνη he has Μεσσήνης. He attributes the dedication not to the Messenians but rather to the Arcadians.

⁴⁹³ Walbank 1967, pp. 57, 515. At 7.13.7 Polybius remarks that Philip V καὶ καθάπερ ἂν ἐγγυσάμενος αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου καὶ τοῦ φονεῦν καὶ παρασπονδεῖν τοὺς συμμάχους, οὐ λύκος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸν Ἀρκαδικὸν μῦθον, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἀλλὰ τύραννος ἐκ βασιλέως ἀπέβη πικρὸς. The allusion is to Pl. *Resp.* 8.565d, where the philosopher compares a *prostates* who becomes a *tyrannos* to a man becoming a

historian Theopompus for saying that people did not cast shadows in the temenos area. Perhaps Polybius had first hand experience of such shadows, in which case he would have been close to our epigram. If Polybius suspected a forgery, it is surprising that he did not say anything, for he criticizes Kallisthenes elsewhere.⁴⁹⁴ Additionally, Kourouniotis suspected that sometime in the third or second century B.C. some of the cult paraphernalia – including the gilded eagles – was transferred to the shrine of Zeus Lykaios in Megalopolis, which could have included the important inscriptions.⁴⁹⁵ Incidentally, Polybius had stressed the strength of Arcadian memory some chapters prior to the inscription's text, at 4.20-21.⁴⁹⁶ The Arcadians alone from childhood sang hymns and paeans to their local (ἐπιχωρίους) heroes and gods, thereby preserving their ancient traditions from one generation to the next.

In any case, the inscription would have stood below the Ash Altar, outside of the inviolable temenos. Here the two columns mounted with gilded eagles formed an entrance to the sacred precinct (Paus. 8.38.7). Finds were concentrated in this area and ten meters to the west, in a zone interpreted by Kourouniotis as the place of sacrifice

wolf on Mt. Lykaion; Walbank 1967, p. 61. Interestingly, the recent excavations have revealed evidence for dining in the area of the Lower Sanctuary from the third to first centuries B.C., which could plausibly have included elites like Polybius; Romano and Voyatzis 2015, p. 263.

⁴⁹⁴ Polyb. 12.12b2, 17-23: Kallisthenes has bad style and relates military matters poorly.

⁴⁹⁵ Kourouniotis 1904, col. 177 (on the basis of Paus. 8.30.2; cf. also 8.30.3, the transfer of the statue of Apollo Epikourios from Bassae to Megalopolis). On cult doublets in the polis and *chora*, see Jost 1994, pp. 225-228 and 1999, pp. 231-232.

⁴⁹⁶ Walbank 1957, pp. 465-469: The wickedness of the Arcadian Kynaithans prompts an explanation for why, although Arcadians have a reputation for excellence among the Greeks, a subset of their nation could have committed such savage acts (ἀγριότητος). Significantly, Greek respect for the Arcadians included their acknowledged piety towards the gods (μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσέβειαν). The Kynaithans, however, turned out to be savage because they had abandoned the ancient Arcadian way of life, which included an absolutely necessary cultivation of “true music” (τὴν γ’ ἀληθῶς μουσικὴν), which the first Arcadians (πρώτους Ἀρκάδων) instituted as a required study for young men until the age of 30. These same ancient Arcadians also instituted the custom of regularly attending sacrifices and festivals.

(*prothysis*).⁴⁹⁷ He noted that some bases aligned with the north column were reminiscent of the Messenian *stele*, and I find it plausible that the document once stood here. The dateable finds from this area of the sanctuary stretch from the seventh to the early fourth centuries B.C. The *prothysis* had black, fatty soil, interpreted as the residue of blood from animal sacrifices. Kourouniotis recovered two small statues, one of Hermes dating to the fifth century B.C.,⁴⁹⁸ the other a young man wearing a petasos and chlamys of the late fifth or early fourth century B.C.⁴⁹⁹ Additionally, he excavated a small bronze base, fragments of bronze jewelry, an iron lock, and the inscribed bronze greave (I-MTL 2). An iron loop may have helped to secure animals during the sacrificial ritual. In the same level as the other finds he discovered many fragments of tile but no pottery. The remainder of the temenos area, on the other hand, produced nothing of note, with only iron objects and roof tiles recovered along the southern side.

Near the northern column base Kourouniotis discovered a bronze statuette of Zeus, nude, bearded, and holding an eagle in his left hand and a lightning bolt in his right. He assigned the figurine to the seventh century B.C. and considered it to be his earliest find.⁵⁰⁰ More statuettes and fragments were also discovered on the east side of the northern column base. A Zeus Ithomatas type dates to the early sixth century B.C, while a

⁴⁹⁷ Kourouniotis 1904, coll. 170-214, with figs. 5, 8-29, pls. 9-10; Cook 1914, pp. 81-89; Romano and Voyatzis 2014, pp. 576-578, 626-627.

⁴⁹⁸ Lamb 1925-1926, p. 144, no. 31. For this and the subsequent Hermes statuettes, see also Jost 1985, p. 451.

⁴⁹⁹ Lamb 1925-1926, p. 145, no. 41.

⁵⁰⁰ See Lamb 1925-1926, p. 140, no. 17, who suggests a date in the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. For all the Zeus statuettes cited in this paragraph, consult in addition Elderkin 1940; Jost 1985, pp. 252-254, with pl. 47, figs. 3-4.

seated Zeus holding a lightning bolt and thunderbolt dates between 550 and 530 B.C.⁵⁰¹

A fragmentary hand of Zeus holding a lightning bolt and a broken bronze foot are also dated to the early fifth century B.C., as is a bronze eagle that may have originally been in Zeus' hand.⁵⁰² Another standing Zeus dressed in a himation and holding a lightning bolt is of fifth century B.C. date,⁵⁰³ while a Hermes figurine dates to the second half of the fifth century B.C.⁵⁰⁴ The finds are rounded out by a poorly preserved statue of a runner and a bronze two-headed snake (perhaps broken off a larger object). Ten rings, nine of iron and one of bronze, were discovered in the area in front of both bases. Near the southern base, Kourouniotis discovered two silver coins, one of the fifth century B.C. APKAΔIKON type, the other fifth century B.C. Argive. A second Hermes statuette that belongs to the latter part of the fifth century B.C. was discovered by a shepherd boy in the same area, characterized by Kourouniotis as "next to the temenos."⁵⁰⁵ Similarly, a bronze *askos* had been recovered some years before by a local man "in the temenos."⁵⁰⁶

Kourouniotis tentatively assigned the columns to the fifth or fourth century B.C., and I would suggest, based on the fact that all but two of the statuettes were discovered in the small area in front of the north column base, that they were intentionally buried together in some kind of cleanup operation undertaken prior to consolidation of this zone. Some were even broken off their bases.

⁵⁰¹ Lamb 1925-1926, p. 143, no. 29, with pl. XXV. Jost 1985, p. 251 cites the opinion that it derives from a Corinthian workshop.

⁵⁰² Jost 1985, p. 252 suggests that these come from a larger statue. For the eagle, see also Lamb 1925-1926, p. 146, no. 43.

⁵⁰³ Lamb 1925-1926, p. 144, no. 30.

⁵⁰⁴ Lamb 1925-1926, p. 145, no. 40.

⁵⁰⁵ Kourouniotis 1904, col. 203; Lamb 1925-1926, p. 145, no. 39.

⁵⁰⁶ Kourouniotis 1904, coll. 211-212.

On this view, the stone columns would have been erected around the same time that construction at the Lower Sanctuary was undertaken, namely, between 370-360 B.C., perhaps in order to replace deteriorated wooden predecessors. Such activity would have been necessary from time to time, particularly if we consider the fact that the area is prone to ground displacement and earthquakes.⁵⁰⁷ It would make good sense if, at the same time that construction activity was undertaken at the lower site, there was also interest in addressing this older part of the sanctuary. A limestone quarry has recently been identified just outside of the temenos area, making it possible that workers were quarrying here during the construction that commenced around 370 B.C.⁵⁰⁸

Thus, we can imagine that some *stelai* were set up around the same time, in an effort to further distinguish the entrance to the sacred area. The bronze greave allows for the possibility that both inscribed material and arms and armor from earlier times were to be found here as well, and it is conceivable that martial dedications brought to mind the saga of the Messenian Wars and Aristomenes, a tradition recently re-activated to a greater degree thanks to the founding of Messene. Indeed, when the city was founded the Messenians invoked and summoned Aristomenes as a hero (Paus. 4.27.6). We are told that the Arcadians provided the sacrificial victims for this occasion. That there was some truth to the Aristomenes' legends is indicated by the fragment of Tyrtaeus which mentions Arcadians, Argives, a trench, and Spartans (*P.Oxy.* 3316). That there had been Messenian dedications – or objects interpreted as such – at Lykaion is implied by Polybius' remark that the inscription was *πρὸς ἄλλοις πολλοῖς*. Although excavation

⁵⁰⁷ See Appendix 2 by G. Davis in Romano and Voyatzis 2014, p. 638.

⁵⁰⁸ Romano and Voyatzis 2014, p. 629.

revealed only the items catalogued above, it is conceivable that these represent the tip of the original iceberg, with other earlier dedications either having been removed to the Lower Sanctuary when it was consecrated, to the Megalopolis shrine at some later time, or buried elsewhere near the temenos in an as yet undiscovered location. Recent excavations in the area of the temenos and columns did not recover anything, and the yearly activity associated with the modern festival of Profitis Ilias, which includes the use of the temenos as a parking facility, may over the course of time have obliterated material.⁵⁰⁹

For what it is worth, the Zeus statuettes from the temenos area stress on the one hand the god's power to punish transgressors with his lightning, and on the other hand his majesty as a king, seated with his lightning bolt and ready to dispense δίκη. We should note that the content of the epigram, which stresses Zeus' power and the inevitable doom of a dishonest king and oath-breakers, was appropriately placed at the entrance to the god's Ash Altar and near the temenos. Both were closely associated with mythical transgressions, the former with king Lykaon's impious sacrifice of a child, the latter with Kallisto's entrance into the *abaton*.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁹ Romano and Voyatzis 2014, pp. 626-628, with n. 89.

⁵¹⁰ Note also that Romano and Voyatzis 2014, p. 626 suggest that the Hermes statuettes found near the temenos have something to do with Hermes' role as the god of boundaries. For Kallisto in the temenos, see Hes. fr. 163 Merkelbach-West. As for the statuette of the youth mentioned above, it is sometimes thought to be another Hermes, although I prefer to interpret the piece as an image of Arkas, the son of Zeus and Kallisto. In the version of the myth traced back to Hesiod, Arkas is hunting a bear that – unfortunately for him – turns out to be his mother. Having reached the temenos of Zeus Lykaios, Kallisto, pursued up to that point by Arkas and some Arcadians, is transformed into Ursa Major by Zeus, lest she violate the sacred law by entering the forbidden area. Our statue, which has its right hand raised as if to throw a small javelin, may be in the act of hunting. Interestingly, the statue stares off towards the sky, i.e., in the direction of his mother as she was seen by the historical Greeks. What more appropriate place could there be for such an image than at the very edge of the temenos, precisely where it was found? In the same way, Elderkin 1940 interpreted the Zeus Keraunios statues from Lykaion as referring to the Gigantomachy and/or the destruction of Lykaon and his sons.

Regardless of the authenticity of the physical stone,⁵¹¹ however, modern scholars have expressed doubts about whether or not such an epigram could be as early as the war of Aristomenes, a figure usually dated to the latter part of the seventh century B.C.⁵¹² The style of the epigram has no parallels at such an early date, although Carlier notes that the triumph of Zeus' justice over the unjust king recalls Hesiod's poetry.⁵¹³ It is normally considered that the use of Ἀρκαδίαν cannot be prior to the political unification of the region. But this is a weak argument, for it appears already in the Catalogue of Ships. Similarly, the use of Μεσσήνη has raised eyebrows, with some thinking that this cannot have happened before the foundation of the city beneath Ithome around 370 B.C. That very well could be, but we should note that Tyrtaeus had used the term in the seventh century B.C. (fr. 5 West). More significantly, Preger considered both the style of the epigram – in particular the phrase ὁ χρόνος σὺν Διὶ εὖρε προδότην (Pausanias' version) – and the use of the epic dialect to be indicative of a later time.⁵¹⁴ However, exactly when this later time was has been disputed, with some preferring to place it in the early fifth century B.C., in which case it would have originally referred to king Kleomenes, and others suggesting an association with the foundation of Messene.

Some unnoticed elements in this inscription place it safely in the early 360s B.C., at least as it exists in its present form. The greeting of Zeus Basileus, with the accompanying request to “save Arcadia,” recalls the tutelary deity of the recently created

⁵¹¹ There would certainly have been more epigraphy at the site in ancient times. Romano, Davis, and Romano 2015, pp. 433-434 have determined that 16 of the preserved bases would have held *stelai* or hermaic pillars, at least some of which would have been inscribed.

⁵¹² Preger 1891, pp. 51-52, no. 63; Schwartz 1899, p. 448; Wilamowitz 1900, pp. 102-103, accepting Pausanias' genitive, ascribing the document to Kallisthenes' “archivalische Studien,” and hypothesizing that the document was real and referred to a fifth century B.C. Arcadian king; Walbank 1957, pp. 479-482.

⁵¹³ Carlier 1984, p. 406.

⁵¹⁴ Preger 1891, pp. 51-52, no. 63.

cities of Messene and Megalopolis, as well as that of re-synoecized Mantinea, namely, Zeus Soter.⁵¹⁵ A fourth century B.C. inscription from nearby Phigaleia, moreover, is a dedication to Athena and Zeus Soter (*SEG* 47 441). Additionally, in the aftermath of Leuktra the Thebans instituted a new festival at Lebadeia, the Basileia, in honor of Zeus Basileus. Given the important role normally assigned to Epaminondas in the early affairs of Messene and Megalopolis, the explicit greeting of Zeus as *basileu* takes on added significance. With all this in mind, we can conclude that the epigram reflects contemporary Greek religion.

Accordingly, the epigram is a clever piece of propaganda, inspired both by recent historical events and older traditions that linked Mt. Lykaion with the ancient struggles against Sparta. Indeed, Wade-Gery even argued that these traditions were kept alive in Phigaleia.⁵¹⁶ It is also possible that older material dedicated near the altar, combined with the Arcadian contribution to the liberation of Messenia, encouraged the fabrication.⁵¹⁷ We could even imagine that the priests claimed to have re-discovered the inscription in this part of the sanctuary, which was less frequented than the lower area where contests were held. Whatever the case, its authors were certainly aware of contemporary religious and historical developments, and I suggest that it reflects League policy, as formulated by the Arcadians themselves and encouraged by Epaminondas. The epigram also provides evidence for viewing the Ash Altar as a *lieu de mémoire* for both the Arcadians and Messenians.

⁵¹⁵ On Zeus Soter as one of the tutelary deities of these three cities, see Jost 1999, p. 230.

⁵¹⁶ Wade-Gery 1966.

⁵¹⁷ In this connection, it is interesting to note that at Phigaleia a sixth century B.C. kouros statue was inscribed in the fourth century B.C. with the text [II]ETAAΛΙΑ Δ; *IG* V, 2.424. See Morgan 1999, pp. 409-410 for commentary.

e. Summary

The Sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios gradually developed from a local sacred site of the Parrhasians into the premier Arcadian sanctuary. We can follow this process through different stages, from the Archaic competition between the traditions of Parrhasia and Azania, to the adoption of the sanctuary by the Arcadian League as the central religious site of the *koinon* in 371/0 B.C. The epigraphic documents discussed here were inscribed during this final stage, but we can see that they drew on traditions from earlier times. In other words, Arcadian historical memory was closely tied to the landscape of Lykaion and Parrhasia. The League dedication at Delphi marks the ascendancy of the genealogical traditions of Mt. Lykaion, where we see the northern heroes Azan and Elatos depicted, along with Arkas, as descendants of Lykaon, who instituted the cult on Mt. Lykaion. The fabricated epigram that purports to be a seventh century B.C. historical document, on the other hand, points to the role that Spartan expansion played in the rise of the cult's importance. This activity shined a light, so to speak, on the Megalopolis Basin and the mountains to its west, and no doubt the athletic festival became a venue for more than just athletic competition.

It is intriguing that the seventh century B.C. reorganization at the sanctuary, which included consolidation of the Ash Altar and activity at the Lower Sanctuary, was, in general terms, contemporary with these Archaic struggles. Perhaps the athletic events were held for the first time in the large lower valley during this same century, which could point to an increase in the popularity of the games. Indeed, we know that similar organization or reorganization of *agones* took place elsewhere in the Archaic period –

including those held at Delphi (586 B.C.), Isthmia (580 B.C.), Nemea (573 B.C.), and Athens (566/5 B.C.).⁵¹⁸ The Arcadians monumentalized the area of the Lower Sanctuary beginning around 370 B.C., and the fragmentary bronze document discussed earlier strongly indicates that the Arcadian League held Mt. Lykaion to be its religious center. This sense of solidarity can be perceived 70 years later, when the victory lists documenting the games designate non-Arcadian champions by their individual polis ethnics, while Arcadians are qualified solely by the adjective ΑΡΚΑΣ, making reference to that hero who had been caught between the Parrhasians and Azanians (I-MTL 4-5).

III: IG V, 2.550 and the Arcadian League in the Late Fourth Century B.C.

The preceding analysis has demonstrated that Mt. Lykaion played an important role in the early *koinon*. It would therefore not be surprising to find the federal government active at the sanctuary, as is indicated by I-MTL 3. However, the split in the *koinon* and its subsequent history have raised doubts about its very existence in the late fourth century B.C. Yet the last 20 years of this century present us with evidence for further federal activity at the shrine. In order to place our documentation in its proper context, we must first review what we know of Arcadian history from the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.) to the end of the fourth century B.C.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁸ Miller 2004, pp. 31, 133.

⁵¹⁹ See Niese 1899, pp. 526-527, who does not go beyond 324 B.C.; Beloch 1923, pp. 175-176; Hiller von Gaertringen in IG V, 2, pp. xxi, ll. 20-163-xx, ll. 1-11 (the fullest account); Roy 1968a, pp. 243-245; Dušanić 1970, pp. 312-317; McQueen 1978, pp. 50-51; Nielsen 2002, pp. 493-499. For more on the historical background of the period, see Hammond 1959, pp. 563-651; Will 1984; Walbank 1993, pp. 46-59; Habicht 1997, pp. 6-66; Shipley 2000, pp. 33-58, 116-124; Hornblower 2011, pp. 284-289.

a. Historical Background

After the battle in 362 B.C., the Mantineans were certainly heading a League of their own, for they are called Ἀρκάδες in a treaty with Athens, Achaea, Elis, and Phleious (362/1 B.C.).⁵²⁰ Furthermore, a scholium to Aeschines (3.83) tells us that in 342 B.C. the Athenians were party to a treaty that included both “the Arcadians with the Mantineans” and “the Megalopolitans.” The latter also seem to have headed a League at this time, in tandem with the Tegeans and with Boeotian support.⁵²¹ Demosthenes’ speech for the Megalopolitans (Dem. 16) speaks of the residents either as “Megalopolitans” or “Arcadians,” which indicates that to a certain degree the two were thought of as synonymous. Additionally, we know that Aeschines gave a speech to the *Myrioi* at Megalopolis in 348/7 B.C. (Dem. 19 and Aeschin. 2).⁵²² We unfortunately know no more of the history of the rival Leagues.

The situation changes when we reach the final showdown between Philip and the Greeks. The whole of Arcadia had remained neutral and did not send contingents to support either side at Chaironea in 338 B.C. Nevertheless, Demosthenes tells us that Arcadia, under the leadership of three men named Kerkidas, Eukampidas, and Hieronymos, had favored Philip’s cause.⁵²³ After his victory, the Macedonian king crossed to the Peloponnese and visited Arcadia. In the process, he dedicated the *stoa Philippeion* in Megalopolis and secured the territory of Belminatis for the Great City.⁵²⁴

⁵²⁰ Rhodes and Osborne 41; on the chronology, see Buckler 1980, pp. 260-261.

⁵²¹ Nielsen 2002, pp. 491-492.

⁵²² Dušanić’s view (1970, p. 335), according to which the *Myrioi* here referred to are the civic assembly of Megalopolis, goes too far.

⁵²³ Dem. 18.295.

⁵²⁴ Stoa: Paus. 8.7.4, 30.6; Belminatis: Liv. 38.34.8. Polyb. 18.14 informs us that at the same conference Philip secured territory for Tegea. In this passage, Polybius exonerates the men criticized by Dem. 18.295,

Some have argued that at this same time Philip effected, or at least encouraged, the full restoration of the Arcadian League.⁵²⁵ This idea is supported by the events of 335 B.C., for which there are reports that all the Arcadians set out to aid the Theban revolt. The expedition turned back at the Isthmus, but our sources seem to imply that the decision to act was a federal one.⁵²⁶ The existence of a unified League⁵²⁷ at this time is all the more interesting if we consider the revolt of Agis III in 332/1 B.C., which brought together an anti-Macedonian coalition that included Sparta, Elis, Achaea (minus Pellene), and Arcadia, with the exception of Megalopolis.⁵²⁸ This revolt resulted in a battle and siege of

arguing that they acted out of patriotism and in defense of their own rights. His last remark on the matter is significant: διὰ δὲ τοὺς προειρημένους ἄνδρας κοινῇ μὲν Ἀρκάσι καὶ Μεσσηνίοις ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀσφάλεια καὶ ῥαιστώνη παρεσκευάσθη, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσι πολλὰ καὶ λυσιτελῇ συνεξηκολούθησε. It is not only Megalopolis who benefitted, but the Ἀρκάσι in general, which may suggest the existence of a *koinon*.

⁵²⁵ Beloch 1923, pp. 175-176; Hammond 1959, p. 571; Dušanić 1970, p. 312; McQueen 1978, p. 50.

⁵²⁶ Aeschin. 3.240: διὰ ἑννέα δὲ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου **πάντων Ἀρκάδων** ἐξεληλυθόντων καὶ **τῶν ἡγεμόνων** ἐτοίμων ὄντων βοηθεῖν. Din. 3.18-21: 18, Arcadians arrive (Ἀρκάδων ἡκόντων) at the Isthmus and rebuff Antipater's envoys; 19, Theban envoys address the Arcadians (τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν); 20, οἷς ἐτοίμων γενομένων τῶν Ἀρκάδων βοηθεῖν ... καὶ φανερόν ποιησάντων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν σώμασι μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ἀκολουθεῖν ἡναγκάζοντο, ταῖς δ' εὐνοίαις μετὰ Θηβαίων καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἦσαν, καὶ **τοῦ στρατηγοῦ αὐτῶν Ἀστύλου** ὄντος ... the Theban envoys approach Demosthenes, who has 300 talents from the king, and ask him to pay the Arcadians; 21: Demosthenes refuses, and the enemies of Thebes bribe the Arcadians to turn back. Arrian, *Anab.* 1.10.1: ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ πάθος, **Ἀρκάδες μὲν, ὅσοι βοηθήσαντες** Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ὀρμήθησαν, θάνατον καταψηφίσαντο τῶν ἐπαράντων σφᾶς ἐς τὴν βοήθειαν. Aeschines states explicitly that all the Arcadians came, but places them under multiple leaders. This need not exclude the existence of a League, but it also does not support it. Dinarchus, however, who provides us with the fullest account of the affair, seems to me to support the idea of a unified League, for he references "their strategos Astylos," who bears the title of the chief federal official. Arrian, who at first glance seems to imply that not all the Arcadians took part (Roy 1968a, p. 243, n. 17), also supports the existence of an Arcadian League. His discussion of the aftermath of Thebes' defeat includes references to the Ἠλεῖοι and Ἀθηναῖοι, two individual poleis. This could lead us to believe that, if the Arcadians had gone out by cities, they would have been recorded by cities. This supposition is supported by Arrian's treatment of the Aetolians: Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ πρεσβείας σφῶν **κατὰ ἔθνη** πέμψαντες ξυγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἐδέοντο, where the detail "by *ethne*" can be contrasted with the handling of the Arcadians, who collectively condemned (καταψηφίσαντο) the men who urged them on. Note that καταψηφίσαντο is very much a word used to describe the actions of assemblies.

⁵²⁷ Since the League in question would necessarily have included Megalopolis (to which Philip had shown particular favor), the stance of this city in the next episode is significant.

⁵²⁸ Aeschin. 3.165: Ἠλεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς (sc. Λακεδαιμονίοις) συμμετεβάλοντο καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες πλὴν Πελληνέων, καὶ Ἀρκαδία πᾶσα πλὴν Μεγάλῃς πόλεως. Other sources are Dinarch. 1.34 (Sparta, Achaea, Elis); Curtius 6.1.20 (Sparta, Tegea, Achaea, and Elis); D.S. 17.62.7 (Sparta and most Peloponnesians). On

Megalopolis, in which Antipater eventually defeated and killed Agis. In the sanctions issued by the League of Corinth, Tegea, the Arcadian state that fought at Megalopolis, was treated with leniency in comparison with Elis and Achaia, who were fined 120 talents, to be paid to Megalopolis.⁵²⁹ This may imply that Megalopolis, temporarily separated from the League by its decision to stay out of the revolt,⁵³⁰ was reconciled with Tegea and the remainder of the *koinon*.⁵³¹

In any case, we next hear of the Arcadian League in a controversial passage of the orator Hyperides, who reports an order of Alexander that Nikanor, the king's envoy, had read out at the Olympic festival of 324 B.C.⁵³² The order certainly commanded the restoration of exiles,⁵³³ but the meaning of the reference made to the Achaean, Boeotian, and Arcadian *koina* is disputed: did Alexander order their dissolution, or was something else intended? The fragmentary nature of the text precludes certainty, but, regardless of what Alexander had in mind, we have mention of the *koinon* again in 323 B.C., when

this war, see Badian 1967, who argues that the episode lasted from spring to fall of 331 B.C., and McQueen 1978, who views the war from the standpoint of the Peloponnesian states.

⁵²⁹ At Tegea only the ringleaders were punished (Curtius 6.1.20).

⁵³⁰ See Appendix V on the governance of the League after 362 B.C.

⁵³¹ McQueen 1978, p. 53: "The pardon granted to Tegea indicates not only a lesser degree of culpability ... but also a constructive act of statesmanship intended to rebuild some measure of unity within the Arcadian League, a unity that would have been seriously undermined by the requirement that one city should make a series of grudging payments to a larger and more powerful member" (italics mine). The fact that the final showdown took place at Megalopolis seems to imply that the allies, perhaps goaded by the Arcadians, wanted to bring this city into the fold. Accordingly, the battle may reveal a desire on the part of Ἀρκάδια πάντα to hold the *koinon* together. Compare the Mantineans' attempt to persuade the quadruple alliance of 418 B.C. (Athens, Argos, Elis, and Mantinea) to attack Tegea (Thuc. 5.61.5).

⁵³² Hyperides 5.18. Aymard 1937 determined that the *koina* were not dissolved, and tentatively suggested that the order dealt with divine honors for Alexander (p. 26). If this is correct, it is interesting to note that there was a house of Alexander in Megalopolis, next to which was an image of Ammon, the god whom Alexander held to be his divine father (Paus. 8.32.1). Dissolution of the League was supported by Niese 1899, p. 527, with n. 2; Busolt 1926, p. 1404; Dušanić 1970, p. 314, but with a briefly-lived re-foundation just prior to the Lamian War. Perpetuation of the League down to ca. 228 B.C. is supported by Roy 1968a, pp. 244-278, who bases his argument on the use of the ethnic Ἀρκάς in inscriptions recording *proxenoi* and *theorodokoi*. The date 228 B.C. is based on the discovery of an Arcadian official's funerary urn in Egypt. A summary of the different views can be found in Nielsen 2002, p. 497.

⁵³³ D.S. 18.8.

Demosthenes spoke ἐν ἐκκλησίαι and πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων to recruit the Arcadians for the Lamian War.⁵³⁴ They did not take part in the rebellion, but scholars interpret this as evidence for the continuation or restoration of the League.⁵³⁵ Here literary documentation for the Arcadian League dries up, and it is usually considered that it disintegrated – a supposition which the epigraphic evidence from Mt. Lykaion contradicts.

After 323/2 B.C. the historical narrative becomes further confused.⁵³⁶ In the following years Antipater set up an oligarchy in Megalopolis,⁵³⁷ which would not necessarily mean that it left an existing League. After the death of Antipater in 319 B.C., rule in Europe was contested by his son Cassander and Polyperchon, his chosen successor. This led to a series of actions in the Peloponnese after Polyperchon's decree on the freedom of the Greeks later in the same year. Polyperchon entered the region and sent heralds around to undermine the oligarchies that Antipater had set up. When the Megalopolitans refused his overture and remained loyal to Cassander, Polyperchon

⁵³⁴ Plut. *Dem.* 27.3 = Phylarchos *FGrH* 81 F 75: ἐν δ' Ἀρκαδίαι καὶ λοιδορίαν τοῦ Πυθέου καὶ τοῦ Δημοσθένους γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἴρηκεν ὁ Φύλαρχος ἐν ἐκκλησίαι, τοῦ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Μακεδόνων, τοῦ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγοντος; Plut. *Vit. Dec.* 846d. Cf. Paus. 8.27.10.

⁵³⁵ Roy 1968a, p. 244; Dušanić 1970, pp. 313-314.

⁵³⁶ On the chronology of this period (i.e., 320-311 B.C.), see Beloch 1925, pp. 79-169 (pp. 101-102 on the siege of Megalopolis, p. 107, with n. 1 on the siege of Tegea, pp. 119-121 on the war involving Stymphalos, Orchomenos, and the Nemean Games, p. 126, with n. 1 on Telesphoros, and pp. 144-146 on Ptolemy in the Peloponnese). See also Smith 1961, Errington 1977, Will 1984, and Wheatley 1998. Beloch based his chronology primarily on Diodorus, dismissing the (at that time) recently discovered Babylonian Diadochoi Chronicle. Errington's dates (incorporating the work of Manni on the Babylonian chronology and his own discussion of the *Marmor Parium*) depart significantly from those of Beloch. His system has come to be known as the 'low chronology,' while that espoused by Beloch is called the 'high chronology.' As far as dates of interest to us are concerned, Beloch places the siege of Megalopolis in 318 B.C., Errington in 317 B.C.; Beloch argues that Cassander celebrated the Nemea of 315 B.C., Errington that of 313 B.C. Wheatley 1998 restates the case for the 'high chronology.' As a general rule, I follow the dates given in the synthesis of Shipley 2000, pp. 116-124 and the detailed study of Athens by Habicht 1997, pp. 47-56. Since this section examines the internal history of Arcadia, the sequence of events – rather than their exact dating – is more important, and on this point there are no doubts.

⁵³⁷ This is to be inferred from D.S. 18.68: τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ... οἳ ἐτύγχανον μὲν τα Κασσάνδρου φρονοῦντες καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου καθεσταμένης ὀλιγαρχίας διοικούμενοι.

besieged the city in 317 B.C.⁵³⁸ Under their leader Damis, the Megalopolitans offered fierce resistance and were able to force Polyperchon's withdrawal.

In 317/6 B.C. Cassander besieged Tegea, but events in Macedonia forced him to abandon the assault and make peace with the city.⁵³⁹ The next year he campaigned in Messenia. In the course of this campaigning, Cassander's general took Stymphalos, while Cassander himself captured Arcadian Orchomenos and installed a garrison. He set up Damis, who had led the successful resistance during the siege of 317 B.C., as ἐπιμελητής of Megalopolis.⁵⁴⁰ He then celebrated the Nemean Games,⁵⁴¹ and here we get our first epigraphic reference the Arcadian League in the late fourth century B.C. An inscription found at Argos documents a series of fines from the Nemea festival against Stymphalos and τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων. This text emanated from the festival of 315 B.C. (or 313).⁵⁴²

⁵³⁸ The episode is recorded in D.S. 18.68-72. The narrative preceding the siege is significant, for it describes the nature of the oligarchy: οἱ δὲ Μεγαλοπολῖται γνόντες τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος **ἐψηφίσαντο** τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας κατὰγειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ δούλων **ἀριθμὸν ποιησάμενοι μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους** εὔρον τοὺς δυναμένους παρέχεσθαι τὰς πολεμικὰς χρεῖας ... τινὲς δὲ τὰ πεπονηκότα τῶν τειχῶν κατεσκεύαζον. The fact that the Megalopolitans "decided by vote" points to a not-so-tight oligarchy, while the number of men raised for the defense, 15,000, implies a large number of citizens, even if we only allow one-third (i.e., 5,000) to the πολῖται category. We also know that Megalopolis was not alone in her spirit of defiance: *SEG* 11 1084 records the recovery of Pallantian prisoners from Polyperchon at the request of Argos. Thus, it seems that Pallantion also resisted, and we would have no knowledge of Pallantion's position if it were not for the chance find of this inscription. Nielsen 2002, p. 453 highlights the document's description of Pallantion "as a polis in the political sense," i.e., it was not dependent on another community.

⁵³⁹ D.S. 19.35.

⁵⁴⁰ This follows a restoration of Diodorus by Niese: Δᾶμιν ἐπιμελητὴν [Μεγάλης] πόλεως.

⁵⁴¹ Antigonos sends forces to Peloponnese: D.S. 19.57; Ptolemy's forces, Cassander's actions against Stymphalos (through Apollonides) and Orchomenos, and his dealings with Megalopolis and the Nemean Games: 19.62-64.

⁵⁴² Piérart 1982, pp. 119-138. The inscription is *IG* IV 616, which is interpreted by the original editor, Fränkel 1898 (and again in *IG* IV, 616) as documenting fines against the Arcadians related to their use of Olympian money in 364 B.C. Weil 1900 disputes this historical interpretation, preferring to date the text after Alexander's conquests in Asia due to its use of gold currency. Furthermore, we should note that the inscription lacks any reference to Olympia. Piérart's dating of the inscription includes the argument about gold coinage, but also cites the fact that Kleonai seems to be a *kome* of Argos. This likely happened around 323/2 B.C. Finally, Piérart noticed that the letter forms are similar to other Argive inscriptions of the late fourth century B.C. Charneux 1983, pp. 256-262 disputes certain elements of Piérart's analysis (in particular, he thinks that Stymphalos and the *koinon* each had only one fine, but these were so heavy that

The argument in favor of this date suggests that, during the operations of Cassander and his subordinate, the Arcadians either preempted hostilities or, having gotten the worst of them, were punished by the Nemean officials at the behest of Cassander. The fine against the *koinon* is sizeable in comparison with Stymphalos: 82+ gold talents as opposed to 9+. This could imply that a fairly large Arcadian *koinon* was operating in the last decades of the fourth century B.C. Piérart, for example, thought it possible that Tegea, Orchomenos, and Mantinea were members. The exclusion of Megalopolis is unwarranted, for, although Cassander's installation of Damis as *epimelete* is normally interpreted as a sign of favor, it could equally be that this was, if not a punishment, at least a measure to ensure the city's good behavior after some kind of slip.⁵⁴³ In any case, we know too little of the city's history at this time to exclude the possibility that it had abandoned its former pro-Cassander policy.

Returning to the historical narrative, Polyperchon's son Alexander made peace with Cassander in exchange for the title 'general of the Peloponnese.'⁵⁴⁴ Alexander was killed in the following year, and in 313 B.C. Antigonos' generals liberated the cities he

they had to be paid in installments), but he does not explicitly disagree with the dating (at p. 256, n. 24 he agrees that the affair concerns Nemea, not Olympia). The most recent treatment of the document is by Perlman 2000b, pp. 145-149, who cautiously agrees with Piérart, but notes the difficulty presented by lack of other documentation for a contemporary Arcadian League, a problem which the present section should help to resolve. On the chronology, see Errington 1977, p. 497 (313 B.C.) and Wheatley 1998, pp. 265-266 (315 B.C.).

⁵⁴³ Of course, we have no other record of such a slip, but we may ask why, although he had spent much time in the Peloponnese since 318 B.C., Cassander waited until now to appoint Damis *epimelete*, whose loyalty had been apparent for some years. Furthermore, if we consider that Stymphalos' fine is around eight or nine times less than the League, we might suppose – for the sake of argument – that the League included eight or nine communities similar in size to Stymphalos. Or, to put it a different way, the perceived economic strength of the League ought to have been around eight or nine times greater than that of Stymphalos. The most famous *epimelete* (although we do not know his exact title) set up by Cassander, Demetrios of Phaleron, came to power at Athens after a war with Cassander; Habicht 1997, pp. 51-52.

⁵⁴⁴ D.S. 19.64.

had garrisoned. Polyperchon kept hold of Sikyon and Corinth,⁵⁴⁵ but we are left in the dark about the status of Arcadia. When we hear of the Peloponnese, the inhabitants seem to be acting in concert, for, after a 309 B.C. rapprochement between Cassander and Polyperchon, the Peloponnesians and Boeotians prevented Polyperchon's entrance into the Peloponnese.⁵⁴⁶ Ptolemy seems to have taken note of the opportunity to make his mark on the Greek mainland, and accordingly he proceeded to liberate Sikyon and Corinth. He planned to free the rest of the Greek cities, but when the Peloponnesians, who had agreed to provide him with food and money, were not forthcoming with aid, he made peace with Cassander, secured Corinth and Sikyon, and departed.⁵⁴⁷

Over the next several years Polyperchon seems to have recovered part of the Peloponnese, but in 303 B.C. Demetrios Poliorketes liberated Arcadia, and in the course of his campaign he brought over all the cities except Mantinea.⁵⁴⁸ In 302 B.C. the Hellenic League was revived, and much of Arcadia was presumably joined to it.⁵⁴⁹

So much for the external view of the region. To summarize: we have enigmatic evidence for a continuation or resuscitation of the *koinon* around 323/2 B.C. In 317 B.C.

⁵⁴⁵ Death of Alexander: D.S. 19.67; liberation of the cities by Antigonos' general Telesphoros: D.S. 19.74.

⁵⁴⁶ D.S. 20.28. The agreement required Polyperchon to murder the young king Herakles, son of Alexander the Great by Barsine. Beloch dates the aftermath of Polyperchon's failure to cross over to the Peloponnese to the fall of 309 B.C. Presumably, then, the activity of Ptolemy should have taken place beginning in the winter of 309/8 B.C. or the spring of the following year, with the campaign to free the rest of the Greeks planned for the summer.

⁵⁴⁷ D.S. 20.37. Ptolemy's agreement with "the Peloponnesians" seems to imply that they were already liberated, a supposition further supported by the fact that, of the Peloponnesian communities, he only had to intervene at Corinth and Sikyon. The report also indicates that the Peloponnesians were necessary allies for one wishing to campaign further to the north.

⁵⁴⁸ Plut. *Demetr.* 25.1: Δημήτριος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐδενὸς ὑφισταμένου τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ φευγόντων καὶ προϊεμένων τὰς πόλεις, προσηγάγετο τήν τε καλουμένην Ἀκτὴν καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν πλὴν Μαντινείας, καὶ Ἄργος καὶ Σικυῶνα καὶ Κόρινθον ἐλύσατο, τάλαντα δοὺς ἑκατὸν τοῖς φρουροῦσιν. It is worth noting that, whereas Argos, Sikyon, and Corinth require the verb ἐλύσατο "he freed," Demetrius merely had to "bring over" (προσηγάγετο) Arcadia. This seems to imply that Arcadia was already autonomous in 303 B.C., and therefore able to chart its own course.

⁵⁴⁹ Plut. *Demetr.* 25.2; *IG IV*², 1.68.

Megalopolis stood alone, as it had in 331 B.C., and we should therefore not assume that it was permanently separated from the rest of the region.⁵⁵⁰ Around 315 or 313 B.C. an Arcadian League – about whose size we know nothing for certain except that it excluded Stymphalos – seems to have been fined by the sanctuary of Nemea, possibly in connection with warfare against Cassander. Rapprochement between Polyperchon's son Alexander and Cassander must have cleared the air, and the next we hear of the Peloponnesians they are acting independently against Polyperchon. In 308 B.C. the Peloponnesians made an agreement to support Ptolemy against Cassander. At the end of the century we find Mantinea – not Megalopolis – standing alone.

b. Mt. Lykaion, Ptolemy, and the League

The above account taken from the literary sources – which characterizes Arcadia as fragmented – is contrasted by the epigraphic record. What's more, it should be noted that there is nowhere any explicit record of warfare that pitted one Arcadian state against another.⁵⁵¹ We have also seen the evidence from Argos indicating that a League existed after 324 B.C. Yet, as Perlman has noted, the interpretation of this inscription would be

⁵⁵⁰ See above, n. 538 on Pallantion.

⁵⁵¹ Polyaeus 4.14 provides a clue concerning the attitude of [some of] the Arcadians during this period: Πολυσπέρχων, τὰ ὄρια φυλασσόντων Πελοποννησίων, τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας προὔτρεψε πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον. πῖλον Ἀρκαδικὸν ἐπιθέμενος καὶ τρίβωνα διπλοῦν ἐμπορησάμενος καὶ βακτηρίαν λαβὼν ἔφη πρὸς αὐτούς· πρὸς οὓς μὲν κινδυνεύειν μέλλομεν, ὃ συστρατιῶται, τοιοῦτοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. ταῦτα δὲ ἀποθέμενος καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν ἀναλαβὼν· οἱ δὲ μέλλοντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολεμεῖν τοιοῦτοι, μέχρι νῦν πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας νενικηκότες, ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται ἡξίωσαν μηκέτι μέλλειν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. This passage implies that Polyperchon fought against Arcadians allied to other Peloponnesians. It is unlikely, in my view, that this episode relates to the siege of Megalopolis, for in that case the narrative of Diodorus implies that the Megalopolitans fortified the city and awaited the assault. Polyaeus thus demonstrates that on some other occasion Arcadians were united against Polyperchon. I think it is very important to note that Polyperchon characterizes the enemy as a generalized Arcadian, wearing πῖλον Ἀρκαδικόν who τὰ ὄρια φυλασσόντων. Note that the story also seems to indicate independent action on the part of the Peloponnesians.

much more secure if there were other, independent confirmation of an Arcadian League in the late fourth century B.C.

There is another— by now very familiar — inscription from Mt. Lykaion that has not been fully incorporated into the debate over the *koinon*'s perpetuation.⁵⁵² I-MTL 5 is one of the two *stelai* recording victors in the Lykaian Games.⁵⁵³ Together, the two contain six lists, five of victors in the *agones* and one of a body of officials arranged in three columns. These texts are securely dated on prosopographical grounds to ca. 320-300 B.C., with *IG* V, 2.550, which contains the list of officials, most likely belonging to 308 B.C. One of the lists on this inscription includes Lagos, the son of Ptolemy by Thaïs. As we know Ptolemy was in the Peloponnese campaigning and negotiating in 308 B.C., and given the fact that the same list includes a Macedonian named Euainetos, who has been linked with one of Ptolemy's admirals, the best place for this particular list is the spring of 308 B.C.⁵⁵⁴ My revised text reads as follows:

	[-----]	[-----]	[. .] ζ
	[-----]	[-----]	τόξαρχος
	[-----]	[. 4-5. .]λοχος	Ἀλέξαρχος
	[-----]	[.] . . . ης	ἵππαρχος
5	[-----]	[Α]ντιφάης	Κερκίδας
	[-----]	Ἀναξικράτης	γροφεὺς
	[-----]	Ἀγησίας	δαμιοργῶν
	[-----]ας	Ὀνάσιμος	Ἐστάτας

⁵⁵² Some have considered the idea that the inscription emanates from an Arcadian League: Roy 1968a, p. 245; Veligianni-Terzi 1977, p. 111; *BNP*, 2003, col. 144, s.v. Cercidas [2] (Engels). Still, an extended analysis is lacking.

⁵⁵³ The other *stèle* is I-MTL 4.

⁵⁵⁴ Kourouniotis 1905, coll. 176-177. On the prosopography and dating of these inscriptions, see also Klee 1918, pp. 66-68; Moretti 1957, p. 131; below, Chapter 4, I.

The list from *IG V*, 2.550, has, in the edition of Hiller von Gaertringen, ten legible (or semi-legible names), with room for four more. Adding the secretary results in a total of 15. Although Hiller von Gaertringen was unsure of the total, he nevertheless considered that these were federal *damiorgoi*, thanks to the mention of a “secretary of the *damiorgoi*” named Estatas. Unfortunately, his interpretation was not widely followed or used as evidence for a *koinon*, and the list has instead been thought to record Megalopolitan officials.⁵⁵⁵ This

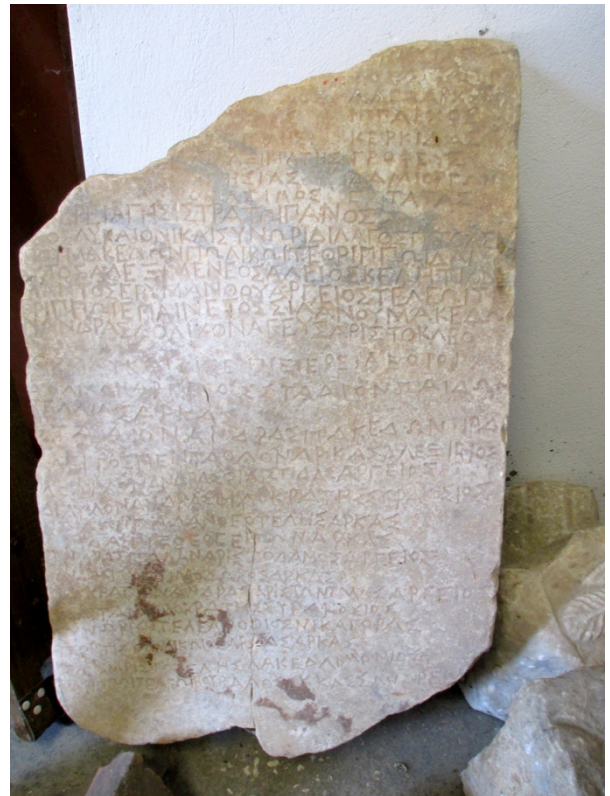


Figure 18: I-MTL 5 (photo by author)

⁵⁵⁵ Dušanić 1970, p. 316 (cf. Dušanić 1978, p. 350, with n. 18) cites *IG V*, 2.431, 515, and *IG V*, 1.1429 in support of his argument that I-MTL 5 lists Megalopolitan *damiorgoi*. The first (dated to the fourth century B.C. by Hiller von Gaertringen) is highly fragmentary (“undique fracta”), but even as reconstructed in *IG V*, 2 does not leave room for so many *damiorgoi* (the next line already switches to the προσσ[ταται βωλᾶς]). The second (from Lykosoura and of Augustan date; I-MTL 46) is an honorary decree issued by the *synedrioi*, the *damos*, and the Roman businessmen in Megalopolis. At one point (ll. 16-18) the man honored (Xenarchos, son of Onasikrates) is described as δαμιοργήσας δὲ ἐπὶ διετίαν τά τε καταλύ[ματα] ἐδέξατο καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δαπάνας παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπετελέσατο, ἐφ’ ᾧ μ[ηδέν]α ὀχληθῆναι τῶν πολιτῶν. Here the stress is on Xenarchos’ acting alone, and in any case there is no mention of colleagues. As far as I can tell, *IG V*, 1.1429 makes no mention of *damiorgoi*. However, another inscription, *IG V*, 2.443B (second century B.C., recording a judgment) is dated with reference to a board of *damiorgoi*; Veligianni-Terzi 1977, p. 74 disputes their eponymous status. The stone is mutilated, but there is only room for a maximum of five or six individuals. A final reference to Megalopolitan *damiorgoi* comes in I-MTL 54, a settlement of boundaries between Megalopolis and other poleis dated to 182-167 B.C. No number of officials is given, and, because the name of Megalopolis is restored, it is unclear whether or not this polis is even being referred to. All of this should seriously weaken the view in favor of interpreting the Lykaion *damiorgoi* as a civic body of Megalopolis, for, in the one case where we can number a board, there seem to have been five or six individuals. This is interesting in and of itself, for it equals (if five) the normal allotment of *damiorgoi* on *IG V*, 2.1, which surely lists federal *damiorgoi* of the 360s B.C. The fatal blow for the Megalopolitan *damiorgoi* argument is dealt by a fact we have long known: the city of Megalopolis early on

view was supported by the fact that one of the *damiorgoi*, Kerkidas, came from a famous Megalopolitan family.

Re-examination of the stone has demonstrated that the list of officials contained at least two more lines, which would bring us to a minimum of 24 entries. We do not have the top of the stone, however, which makes it quite possible that the catalogue contained more entries. The stone is very thick (0.46 m), much thicker than the largest preserved *stelai* base at the Lykaion sanctuary (0.31 m).⁵⁵⁶ This suggests the possibility that the stone was once part of a much larger monument, perhaps built into a structure. The large blank space after the last line of the final victory list indicates that the stone should not have continued much further on the bottom side. Thus, we seem to have the bottom half or two-thirds of the original, which once again suggests that the lists continued above the preserved section. The most interesting new revelation, however, concerns the two officials called *toxarchos* and *hipparchos*, the archer and cavalry commanders. Kourouniotis had alluded to the fact that *hipparchos* is usually an officer in Arcadia, but he nevertheless interpreted it as a personal name.⁵⁵⁷ *Toxarchos* is never found as a personal name⁵⁵⁸ and therefore demonstrates that the list is to be read in the following manner: “Office of Toxarch: Alexarchos; Office of Hipparch: Kerkidas; Secretary of the *Damiorgoi*: Estatas.”

had only six *phylai*. Later this number was reduced to five. It is likely that civic *damiorgoi* were representatives of the *phylai*, so we should only expect to find a maximum of six *damiorgoi*, too few for I-MTL 5. On the Megalopolitan *phylai*, see Jones 1987, pp. 135-138.

⁵⁵⁶ Romano, Davis, and Romano 2015, p. 433.

⁵⁵⁷ Kourouniotis 1904, col. 172.

⁵⁵⁸ *I.Thesp.* 84 (220-210 B.C.); *I.Apollonia* 5,b (fourth/third century B.C.), 6; *I.ScM* I 15 (200 B.C.); *IG* IV 698 (147 A.D.?).

Inside Arcadia we have very a small number inscriptions documenting offices, and of these only a handful deal with the *koinon*. A city hipparch is known at Tegea in the third century B.C. (*IG* V, 2.11 and 116), where he is accompanied by three προστάται τοῦ δάμου, seven (*IG* V, 2.116) or 11 στρατηγοί (*IG* V, 2.11), a secretary, and the priest of Athena. This may seem to argue in favor of viewing the list of *IG* V, 2.550 as civic – perhaps Megalopolitan. Other considerations make this the less likely interpretation. A decree from Orchomenos that outlines the city’s absorption into the Achaean League (*IG* V, 2.344 = *IPArk* 16; 235 B.C.) lists the following individuals and bodies that are to swear the oath: ἐμ με[ν Αἰγίωι οἱ δαμιοργοὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ὁ στρα-] / [τ]αγὸς καὶ ἵππαρχος καὶ ναύαρχος, ἐν δὲ [Ὀρχομενῶι οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν Ὀρχομενί-] / [ων]. The importance of the hipparch is evident, and in the mountains of Arcadia there would presumably be no need for a navarch so instead we find the toxarch. From the Magnesians League at Demetrias in Thessaly we have two honorary decrees (*IG* IX, 2.1103, 1108) that list officers similarly: 1103 has the *strategos*, hipparch, navarch, treasurer, and the priest of Zeus Akraios, while 1108 has the priest of Zeus Akraios, the *koinos strategos*, and the seven members of this *synarchia*.

What of the other names, those which are not qualified by a particular office? There should be a minimum of 15 or 16, if we exclude the right column.⁵⁵⁹ There were probably more, given the fact that we only have the bottom part of the stone. I suggest that these men are federal *damiorgoi*, whom we have already seen in the sanctuary during the 360s B.C. Mention of the γροφεὺς δαμιοργῶν supports this conclusion. It has already been mentioned that the Arcadian *koinon* had 50 officials called *damiorgoi* in the 360s

⁵⁵⁹ It is not clear that we should do this, in which case there would be even more names.

B.C. We know from the inscription discussed above that in the 360s B.C. these were distributed among the member communities at an average of five per community.⁵⁶⁰ There were also civic *damiorgoi* in Arcadia,⁵⁶¹ but there are no known instances of boards with more than five or six individuals.⁵⁶² Some communities seem to have had only one. Thus, when we find a list of *damiorgoi* with more than ten individuals, we should seriously consider the possibility of a federal context.

The implication, then, is that here we have good evidence for federal officials at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaïos in the year 308 B.C. It is unlikely that these *damiorgoi* were simply sanctuary administrators. In the first place, all previous and subsequent uses of the title are civic or federal. Where a *damiorgos* is connected with a sanctuary, he

⁵⁶⁰ *IG* V, 2.1; see above, Chapter 3, II, c.

⁵⁶¹ An inscription (*SEG* 11 1112 = *IPark* 20) from northern Arcadia of the late sixth century B.C. shows that a *damiworgos* was probably the chief magistrate of the unidentified community. At Mantinea there seem to have been five *damiorgoi*, and Thuc. 5.47 lists them in such a way as to indicate that they were the chief officers (epigraphic evidence: *IG* V, 2.261, *IPark* 9 = *SEG* 37 340, which has an eponymous *damiorgos* in either the early fourth century B.C. or ca. 350-340 B.C.). Tegea also had *damiorgoi*, but the board of *thearoi* were probably the state's highest officers (epigraphic evidence: *IG* V, 2.3 = *IPark* 2). Murakawa 1957, p. 393 and Veligianni-Terzi 1977, pp. 33-39 discuss these early *damiorgoi*. Since Mantinea took the leading role in the formation of the Arcadian League, I would suggest that, given the importance of the *damiorgoi* at Mantinea and the fact that their likely number of five – one for each of the city's subdivisions (Jones 1987, pp. 132-135) – corresponds to the standard number of *damiorgoi* per community in the Phylarchos inscription, the nomenclature and distribution of federal *damiorgoi* were implemented with the Mantinean model in mind. There were *damiorgoi* at Orchomenos in 79/8 B.C. (*IG* V, 2.346), and there is possible reference to a *damiorgos* in *BCH* 38 (1914), pp. 454-457, no. 3 (243-229 B.C.) = *IPark* 36i, and an eponymous *damiorgos* on *BCH* 38 (1914), pp. 466-467, no. 9 (third century B.C.) = *IPark* 36k. In the third century B.C. we have four *damiorgoi* at Stymphalos (*IG* V, 2.356 = *IPark* 36o, also *IG* V, 2.351, *IG* V, 2.357 = *IPark* 17, and *IG* V, 2.358). At Kleitor, there were *demiourgoi* around 130 B.C., where they have a prominent role (*IG* V, 2.367 = *IPark* 19); at Lousoi in the fourth/third century B.C. we have evidence for 3 *damiorgoi* (*IG* V, 2.389 = *IPark* 36p; Veligianni-Terzi 1977, p. 67 argues for 5 *damiorgoi* here) and 5 *damiorgoi* in the third century B.C. (*IG* V, 2.395), with some support for the idea that one was eponymous (*IG* V, 2.390). In Phigaleia we have evidence for two *damiorgoi* (*IG* V, 2.423), but we know nothing about their functions. Finally, we know that there were *damiorgoi* at Alipheira around 273 and 244-219 B.C. (*IPark* 24 = *SEG* 25 447 and *IPark* 25 = *SEG* 25 448). On *damiorgoi* as sometimes eponymous officials in Arcadian communities, see Sherk 1990, pp. 261-264. On the *damiorgoi* from Orchomenos, see Veligianni-Terzi 1977, pp. 65-67; on Lousoi, pp. 67-69; on Alipheira, pp. 69-70, 78; on Stymphalos, pp. 70-71, 80-81; on Kleitor, pp. 83-84. Evidence dating after Arcadia's incorporation into the Achaean League should be treated with extra caution, for we do not know precisely how this changed the internal governance of Arcadian communities. On the *damiorgoi* of Megalopolis, see above, n. 555.

⁵⁶² Busolt 1926, p. 1408.

seems to be acting in his capacity as a civil administrator. Secondly, a Cyrenian inscription of the second half of the fourth century B.C. may indicate that the sanctuary was run by a board of *hieromnamones*,⁵⁶³ to whom we may add the priests of Zeus and Pan from the victory lists.⁵⁶⁴ A parallel for listing federal officials in a festival context is provided by a small corpus of Delphic inscriptions that list victors in the Soteria.⁵⁶⁵ These texts are dated to the 220s B.C., and the prescript includes the agonothele and a list of *hieromnamones* of the Delphic-Anthelie Amphictyony, an institution that had become a kind of secondary governing body of the Aetolian league as it expanded to the east and north. Furthermore, I-MTL 51 separates the different Arcadian communities that the Cyrenians were dealing with in the following order: Kleitor, Stymphalos, Megalopolis, Tegea, and the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaeos. In other words, in the eyes of the Cyrenians Mt. Lykaion is an independent entity in Arcadia where the decision is to be published. This very much seems as if the north Africans saw the sanctuary as the heart of Arcadia. I suggest that this is because it was the major sanctuary of the *koinon*.

What can we say of the composition of this board of officials and thus the composition of the *koinon*? Any conclusions must remain tentative, but we can attempt to make some headway by examining the names. If, as earlier scholars have suggested, Kerkidas is a Megalopolitan, Megalopolis should be a member. Other prosopographical

⁵⁶³ I-MTL 51. This is a reasonable restoration based on the number of available letters, although of course we can never be certain. *Damiorgoi* would not supply enough letters; see Chapter 4, IV. The same inscription requires a copy to be set up by the Hellanodikai at Olympia, the Amphictyons at Delphi, and the Thesmothetai at Athens.

⁵⁶⁴ A third objection has been raised by Dušanić 1970, p. 316, n. 215, where the author cites the lack of city ethnics describing the *damiorgoi*. Yet, as will be shown below, the primary characteristic of these inscriptions is the suppression of civic in favor of Arcadian identity. Thus, the failure to record *damiorgoi* explicitly by cities is mirrored by the way victorious Arcadian athletes are listed.

⁵⁶⁵ *FD* III, 4.125-128.

links can be made with Tegean citizen rolls dated by Hiller von Gaertringen to the fourth century B.C. Two names from *IG V*, 2.550 miscopied by the earlier scholar, Alexarchos and Onasimos, appear on these rolls.⁵⁶⁶ Perhaps of more significance is the combination of Alexarchos, a name which does not appear elsewhere in Arcadia, and Hagesias on the same roll.⁵⁶⁷ This data cannot be pushed very far, and its value is contestable due to the fact that we have more inscriptions from places like Tegea and Megalopolis than smaller Arcadian communities. Still, the argument from numbers – namely, that our inscription has so many more officials than would be expected in a civic context – should be sufficient for demonstrating a federal setting,⁵⁶⁸ as is the case for I-MTL 3.⁵⁶⁹

c. Summary

What, then, of the historical circumstances that led to the drawing up of this list? In the first place, it should be noted that the victory list immediately following the officers is highly truncated. Whereas the other four catalogues name victors for most or

⁵⁶⁶ Hiller von Gaertringen published the names as Onasilos and Alexander. Both were read correctly by Kourouniotis, although his text reads Alexandros, whereas his note has Alexarchos (see Appendix II for details). The Tegean inscriptions are *IG V*, 2.41 and 31.

⁵⁶⁷ *IG V*, 2.41. Other possible connections include a Hagesias at Mantinea ca. 300-221 B.C. (*IG V*, 2.323B 37-38, although these are dated ca. 226 B.C. by Amit 1973, pp. 141-147), a Hipparchos and an Antiphaes at Tegea on a third century B.C. citizen roll (*IG V*, 2.36), and a Kerkidas at Megalopolis in 146 B.C. (*IG V*, 2.439). Note that these citizen rolls are dated only by letter forms, so there is room for interpretation. Much emphasis has been placed on Kerkidas as providing evidence for a Megalopolitan on the board. In my view, prosopographical links with other identically named individuals should be awarded the same degree of validity.

⁵⁶⁸ Veliganni-Terzi 1977, pp. 110-111 tentatively suggests that all the men listed could be *damiorgoi* (“Wenn es sich also um ein Zeugnis des arkadischen Bundes handelt, muss man δαμιουργοί lesen und darunter die Bundesdamiurgen verstehen”).

⁵⁶⁹ Paus. 6.16.8 says that Pyttalos, an Eleian champion in the boys’ boxing at Olympia, judged a boundary dispute between the Arcadians and Eleans. This Pyttalos can be dated from the late fourth century B.C. to the beginning of the third century, based on the fact that Pausanias saw a statue of him by the artist Sthennis of Olynthos. Roy 2000b, p. 141 suggests that the dispute was between poleis. The wording of Pausanias, however, would not exclude a federal context (Ἀρκάδας Ἑλαιοίς), and if Megalopolis was part of the League in question, the area of Alipheira would presumably have bordered Elean territory. On the history of Alipheira and the Elean border, see Roy 2000b, pp. 138-139.

all of the 15 events,⁵⁷⁰ the list featuring Ptolemy's son Lagos includes only the four equestrian events and the *dolichos*. This suggests the possibility that the engraver, having registered so many lines of *damiorgoi*, felt it necessary to truncate the victory list after recording the high profile Macedonians. An association between the *damiorgoi* and Lagos lists is further supported by the fact that there is no blank line separating the two, as there is between the Lagos catalogue and the following one.

Accordingly, there is an argument for associating the federal officials with the festival of Lagos' victory. Kourouniotis suggested that Lagos was in Megalopolis because the city was friendly to Cassander, who was his father's ally. This would be strange, however, because Diodoros tells us that Ptolemy was at war with Cassander. In my view, it is much more likely that the festival of 308 B.C. was attended by Ptolemy's delegates in order to seal an agreement with the Arcadians, who should thus be counted among the Peloponnesians who promised provisions and funds for Ptolemy's campaign to free the Greek cities. This would explain the presence of the federal officers, who are missing from the other victory lists. Perhaps the top of the stone recorded an agreement negotiated and guaranteed by these officials, or perhaps there was a desire on the part of the federal officers to record their presence at this momentous event. It is also conceivable that an honorary decree of some sort preceded the list, in which case the officials would be the guarantors of the honors.

It has been suggested on various grounds that Ptolemy re-founded the League of Corinth upon his arrival in the Peloponnese, and that in connection with this event he

⁵⁷⁰ See Chapter 4, II.

celebrated the Isthmian Games.⁵⁷¹ The latter would have been held in the spring of 308 B.C., i.e., in April/May of the fourth year of the 117th Olympiad. The Olympics would have occurred in July/August, with which began the first year of the 118th Olympiad. Thus, the Lykaia would most likely have been held in the spring or early summer of 308 B.C.⁵⁷²

Whatever the reason for their presence, these officials make it clear that in the late fourth century B.C. Mt. Lykaion was considered an appropriate venue for federal activity, as was the case in the 360s B.C.

In this regard, there is one more point to be made about these lists and Arcadian federalism. It has long been noted that there is significance in the fact that, while victors from states outside Arcadia on I-MTL 4-5 are usually listed with their polis ethnic, all the Arcadians are qualified with Ἀρκάς alone. It is normally assumed that this demonstrates the Arcadians' extraordinary consciousness of their common ethnicity.⁵⁷³ I would not dispute this. What I think needs to be added, however, is the fact that, if there was a *koinon* uniting at least part of Arcadia in the last two decades of the fourth century B.C., then the use of Ἀρκάς on these stones must be read in a new light. For some – namely, the citizens of poleis who were members of the *koinon* – it was a genuine political label; for those from communities who were not members, such as was the case with Stymphalos several years earlier, the use of Ἀρκάς was more complicated. We can imagine a scenario in which, with League members labeling themselves Ἀρκάς – and

⁵⁷¹ Dixon 2007, pp. 173-174.

⁵⁷² On the chronological aspects of the festival, see Chapter 4, I.

⁵⁷³ Dušanić 1970, pp. 315-316; Nielsen 1999, pp. 28-29; Nielsen 2002, pp. 61-62; Pretzler 2009, p. 93. As noted above, the lack of polis adjective in the list of officials on I-MTL 5 similarly suppresses the local identities of the men in question.

doing so in the very place where that hero had supposedly spent his life – for non-members the choice of Ἀρκύς (with its double valence) over the city ethnic presented a kind of propagandistic opportunity for supporters of the League. Residents of a non-member city would have been hard-pressed to refuse qualifying themselves as “Arcadian,” and thus the festival – in addition to stressing the unity of the *ethnos* – could simultaneously broadcast the political aspirations of the *koinon*, whose membership was likely very often in flux due to the instability caused by Macedonian campaigns in the Peloponnese.⁵⁷⁴

IV: The Third Century B.C.

In the third century B.C. our historical record darkens. It is possible that the Arcadian League continued to exist until its constituent communities were incorporated into the expanding Achaean League, although the direct evidence for this argument is thin.⁵⁷⁵ Around 265-252 B.C., Aristodemos, a man from Phigaleia, became tyrant of Megalopolis, probably with the protection of Antigonos Gonatas (Polyb. 10.22; Paus. 8.27.11). Then around 245 B.C. Lydiadas, originally from Kaphyai, set himself up as tyrant at Megalopolis (Polyb. 2.44, 52; Plut. *Arat.* 30, 35, 37, *Cleom.* 6; Paus. 8.27.12-

⁵⁷⁴ A final piece of evidence supporting the continuation of the League in the late fourth century B.C. is provided by a series of triobols minted at Megalopolis. These continue the use of Zeus Lykaïos/Pan, and one group (without an eagle but with the legend AP or APK on the reverse) is dated from the later fourth century-235 B.C. In subsequent times the legend changes to ΜΕΓ, a clear indication that the coinage was no longer federal. See Warren 1969. Triobols of this kind could have been used to pay military forces of a *koinon*, and these coins could therefore reveal another aspect of the late fourth century B.C. League. For these coins and others minted by Megalopolis in the late fourth and early third centuries B.C. in the name of Arcadia, see Hoover 2011, pp. 231-234.

⁵⁷⁵ Roy 1968a, ch. 9.

15),⁵⁷⁶ and it is possible that these constitutional changes affected the status of the sanctuary. Given the close connection linking Megalopolis with the sanctuaries of Zeus Lykaios, Apollo Parrhasios, Apollo Epikourios, and Lykosoura, it is likely that all of this territory came under first Aristodemos', then Lydiadas' control. There is, however, no direct evidence. It would certainly make sense for these tyrants to have patronized the festival, which would have brought status and wealth to the citizens of Megalopolis. The origins of Aristodemos and Lydiadas point towards the importance of Megalopolis as the major center for political action in southwestern Arcadia (and beyond).

In 235 B.C. Lydiadas joined Megalopolis to the Achaean League, and the extensive territory administered by Megalopolis now opened a new chapter in its history. In 227 B.C., during the war between Kleomenes of Sparta and the Achaeans, there was a battle on Mt. Lykaion (Polyb. 2.51.3, 2.55.2, Plut. *Cleom.* 5, *Arat.* 36), although we do not know the exact location. In the course of this war Megalopolis was taken and sacked (223 B.C.), and Dow argued that the decree of ca. 215 B.C. (I-MTL 52) on the re-foundation of the Lykaia festival resulted from the ensuing instability. After the destruction of Megalopolis, resettlement was followed by the drawing up of a new constitution by a Peripatetic philosopher from Athens named Prytanis, who had been sent by Antigonos. Aratos of Sikyon was able to get this duty transferred to the local Kerkidas in 217 B.C. Dow suggests that the war with Kleomenes and these constitutional and social problems may have caused a suspension of the games, and their re-establishment

⁵⁷⁶ See Walbank 1957, p. 238. For a full list of the sources documenting Aristodemos and Lydiadas, see Berve 1967, pp. 712-713.

would have helped the impoverished citizens make some money through the market that accompanied the festival.⁵⁷⁷

I argue in the next Chapter (4, I, b) that the festival was transferred from the mountain sanctuary down to Megalopolis. The latest material from the Ash Altar of Zeus Lykaios dates to the Hellenistic period, and during the third century B.C. the Corridor that linked the hippodrome and stadium to the sanctuary buildings at Lykaion was used as a dumping ground. Extensive dining activity from the third to the first centuries B.C. shows that the sanctuary kept being used, but not necessarily for the games.⁵⁷⁸ The (generally) contemporary large-scale investment at Lykosoura, located much closer to the Megalopolis Basin, may point towards a realignment of the sacred landscape and its associated priorities starting in the late third century B.C. Pausanias tells us about a gymnasium and a stadium in Megalopolis (8.31.8, 32.3), and the decrees of Megalopolis and its associated territories granting honors at the Lykaia begin in the late third and second centuries B.C.⁵⁷⁹ We have enough victory lists from the late third, second, and first centuries B.C. to demonstrate that the festival continued to be celebrated, but extended discussion of these matters is reserved for Chapter 4.

In sum, the third century B.C. brought some major changes for the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios and the Lykaia festival. The festival was most probably placed under the direct control of the governing bodies of Megalopolis, perhaps beginning with the tyranny of Aristodemos in the middle of the century. This event represented a shift in

⁵⁷⁷ Dow 1937, pp. 120-126.

⁵⁷⁸ Romano and Voyatzis 2015, p. 263.

⁵⁷⁹ I-MTL 43-44. I-MTL 53 (223-190 B.C.), the decree of Lykosoura in honor of Damophon, mentions the Lykaia in connection with the Nemea and Ithomaia, in a clause that seems to order that honors be announced at these festivals.

policy from the situation we saw at the end of the fourth century B.C., where the federal government seems to have made itself publicly present at both the sanctuary and festival. We unfortunately cannot know whether this shift was primarily ideological or represented a serious change in the administration, although the fact that federal officials are found at the sanctuary only in the fourth century B.C. indicates that the change was accompanied by noticeable innovations, mirroring the shift in government at Megalopolis. The archaeological and epigraphic evidence point towards a tightening of Megalopolis' control over the festival after the war with Kleomenes. The Lower Sanctuary continued to be used, and Pausanias attests to sacrifices at the Ash Altar in his time, suggesting the possibility that a group of priests or attendants – or perhaps an individual family – was charged with continuing the ritual. The evidence does not permit further speculation, and we can imagine that even if the games were normally held in Megalopolis, perhaps on some occasions the older sanctuary installations were also utilized. The decision may have been at the discretion of the *agonothetes*, an office attested by the inscribed roof tiles recovered in the Lower Sanctuary (I-MTL 9).

V: The Fate of the Parrhasian Sanctuaries

Some brief remarks must be made about the fate of the other Parrhasian sanctuaries in the period under review in this chapter.⁵⁸⁰ The sanctuary of Pan at Berekla seems to have been abandoned in the fifth century B.C., although the unpublished work of Broucke claims to identify a 28.19 x 5.19 m stoa dated to the early Hellenistic

⁵⁸⁰ An post-synoecism cults is found in Jost 1994, pp. 225-228.

period.⁵⁸¹ Berekla's heyday was in the sixth century, with the dedication of the large number of bronze statuettes,⁵⁸² and the cult was not included among the doublets at Megalopolis. The sanctuary of Apollo Parrhasios needs to be thoroughly re-studied.⁵⁸³ We know from Pausanias (8.38.8) that in his day there was still a yearly procession from the statue of Apollo Epikourios in Megalopolis to the sanctuary of Apollo Parrhasios, accompanied by flute music. When the participants arrived they sacrificed and feasted on the spot.

In the sanctuary of the Great Goddesses at Bathos, the latest material found by the British excavators dates to the fourth century B.C., but Pausanias says that mysteries continued to be celebrated here every other year (Paus. 8.29.1), and these deities remained important in the civic cult of Megalopolis (*IG* V, 2.517; Paus. 8.31). The sanctuary of Demeter at Basilis was seen by Pausanias (Paus. 8.29.5). All we know of Akakesion is that the Hermes' statue remained at the original sanctuary (Paus. 8.36.10), but a copy was created for the sanctuary of Hermes Akakesios in Megalopolis (Paus. 8.30.6). The sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura was a major center of religious activity from the third century B.C. through the Roman imperial period, although the dating of the remains is disputed.⁵⁸⁴ Damophon's sculptures were certainly installed in the late third or early second century B.C., and in general this was a time of great investment at Lykosoura, which appears to have become the major religious center of the area by the time of the principate. As has been mentioned, there was certainly a realignment of

⁵⁸¹ Broucke 1991 (AIA abstract: "The Sanctuary of Pan at the Sources of the Neda River in Arkadia").

⁵⁸² Voyatzis 1999, p. 139; Jost 1994, p. 226 on its abandonment.

⁵⁸³ Voyatzis 1990, pp. 43-44.

⁵⁸⁴ Jost 1985, pp. 172-179.

priorities starting in the late third century B.C., when the Lower Sanctuary seems to have ceased hosting the Lykaia. The shift that saw investment of resources and religious sentiment in Lykosoura should be linked with this realignment.

CHAPTER 4: THE LYKAIA FESTIVAL, 600-200 B.C.⁵⁸⁵

Throughout this dissertation we have often made reference to the Lykaia, documented from the late Archaic period through the second century A.D. In the present chapter, we shall delve deeper into this festival in order to answer some basic questions about how it functioned. At what time of year did it take place? How often was it held? Who was in charge of organizing the Lykaian Games, and did this responsibility change hands as history progressed? What events did the Lykaia host? Who were the athletes that competed at the Lykaia, and where did they come from? What prizes did they win? What did Greeks outside Arcadia think about the festival?

Behind these questions lie a number of important matters that modern scholars have only recently begun to discuss.⁵⁸⁶ The majority of scholarship on ancient Greek athletics has focused upon the four major Panhellenic festivals – the Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia, and Nemea. This emphasis is not entirely unwarranted, given the source material and the prestige held by these four competitions. It was probably the case, however, that the average Greek's experience of agonistic competition was characterized much more by participation in and/or attendance at the numerous local festivals that populated their *oikoumene*. We see this fact reflected in the victory lists of Peloponnesian athletes, who were particularly prolific in racking up victories at the local festivals.⁵⁸⁷ By learning more about the Lykaia, we will obtain a clearer picture of ancient Greek athletics as a culture-

⁵⁸⁵ In what follows, 'Lykaian Games' is equivalent to the 'Lykaia Festival' and 'Lykaia'; when referring to the Lykaia sacrifice, I always include 'sacrifice.'

⁵⁸⁶ For an overview of the current trends in the study of Greek athletics, see Weiler 2014. Brief surveys of local athletic festivals have become a feature of recent synthetic works: e.g., Miller 2004, ch. 7; Kyle 2015, pp. 143-144. A thorough overview of Greek festivals is found in Chaniotis 2011.

⁵⁸⁷ See, for example, the victory list of Damatrios of Tegea, who won multiple victories at the Aleaia, Tegea's local festival (I-MTL 26). For local agonistic festivals in the Peloponnese, see Lafond 1998.

wide phenomenon. Imagine, for instance, if future historians had only a list of Super Bowl victories and MVPs to study American football. This would be enough to deduce certain basic facts about the NFL and some of its greatest players, but we would know nothing of college football, which for many fans is more important than the NFL.

Study of the Lykaia's organization will also contribute to our understanding of ancient chronology. Admittedly, the Lykaia chronology is not nearly so important as the Olympiad dating system,⁵⁸⁸ which became popular as general chronological framework thanks to Timaios of Tauromenion, but there are certain cases of confusion that we can straighten out by clarifying our understanding of when the Lykaia was held.

Finally, we can learn something more about a curious historiographical problem. In Xenophon's *Anabasis* (1.2.10), the historian informs us that Xenias the Parrhasian conducted the Lykaia sacrifice while en route to Kunaxa with Cyrus the Younger.⁵⁸⁹ After the sacrifice, Xenias held athletic contests at a place called Peltai, where the prizes for victors were golden strigils (στλεγγίδες).⁵⁹⁰ Scholars have pondered over the meaning and nature of this event for generations. Was this meant to replace the Lykaia held on Mt. Lykaion, because so many of Arcadia's young men were on campaign with Cyrus? Did it supplement the festival held on the mountain? Did the victors 'count' for the record books? Were the contests even meant to represent the Lykaian Games at all? Did the timing coincide with the festival held on the mountain, and, if so, were the Arcadians in

⁵⁸⁸ On Olympic victory lists, see Christesen 2007, with a helpful summary of his arguments at pp. 21-44.

⁵⁸⁹ ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἄρκας τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἅθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κύρος: "Cyrus remained there (sc. Peltai) for three days. During this time Xenias the Arcadian made the Lykaia sacrifice and held an *agon*. The prizes given were golden strigils, and Cyrus was also a spectator at the *agon*." For further analysis of this passage, see below, Chapter IV, I, c.

⁵⁹⁰ Some suggest that we should translate στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ as "golden crowns"; see Roy 1967, p. 314.

possession of a local calendar while on campaign? What is the nature of a festival and sacrifice if it is held outside of its associated sanctuary? Was the physical location of the sanctuary not as important as we think, or was the Lykaia of Xenias an aberration? Whatever the solution, the problem is unique, and it will help us think not only about chronology but also about the nature of the Lykaia and its significance for the Arcadians.

We should state at the outset that our data – while much fuller than was available to earlier scholars, thanks in large part to new epigraphic discoveries – does not allow for certainty on many of the problems we have singled out. There are some cases where we can be relatively sure of our conclusions, but others will continue to be debated until unequivocal evidence comes to light. I am confident that one day this will be the case. It is reasonable to hope that the ongoing excavations at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios will turn up further epigraphic evidence for the Lykaia festival, and the penchant that poleis and individuals had for setting up victory lists commemorating athletic triumphs means that we can expect more such lists to turn up as the archaeological exploration of Greece proceeds. That this is the case has already been demonstrated by the current excavations at Messene, which have added five more inscriptions to our dataset.

We shall confront each problem individually, beginning with the chronological aspects of the festival and moving from there to a discussion of the events and the evidence for their organization. We will then briefly survey the Lykaia's status among the Greek agonistic celebrations. Discussion of the festival under the Roman Empire is reserved for the more detailed discussion of Chapter 5.

I: Chronological Aspects of the Lykaia

a. Earlier Scholarship

In Chapter 3, III, c, we briefly discussed the season and dating of an individual instance of the Lykaia festival. I suggested that the games in which Ptolemy's son Lagos won in the four-horse chariot race belong to 308 B.C., the year that Ptolemy set himself up in Corinth and Sikyon prior to his aborted liberation of the Greeks. This would seem to solve at least two issues for us: the time of year that the festival took place (spring/summer) and the year(s) of the Olympic cycle in which the Lykaia fell (at least the fourth year, and perhaps the second and fourth years if the games were held every other year).

Unfortunately, things are not so simple. No ancient source explicitly tells us whether the Lykaia were held on an annual, biennial, or quadrennial basis, nor do we have any statement on the time of year in which the games were held. Many scholars have nevertheless put forward solutions to both of these problems. We must begin with G. Fougères' article in the *Daremberg-Saglio* encyclopedia. On analogy with the other great festivals of Greece, Fougères suggested that the Lykaia were penteteric, i.e., held every four years on the model of the Olympics.⁵⁹¹ Fougères did admit, however, that there was no explicit testimony on the matter. He used Xenophon's account of the Lykaia held at Peltai to suggest that the games took place in the spring, for we can calculate the time it took the army to arrive at their destination. Cyrus and his men reached Peltai on

⁵⁹¹ *Daremberg-Saglio* 3.2, 1904, pp. 1432-1433, s.v. Lykaia (Fougères).

the 20th of April. Furthermore, Fougères argued that the festival took place over a course of at least three days.

Walter Immerwahr, who wrote the first survey of Arcadian cults, discussed Zeus Lykaios and his festival at great length. In his exposition he was most interested in proving that Zeus Lykaios was not a sun god or a god of light, but rather a totemic wolf god. Accordingly, he did not want the festival to fall around the time of the summer solstice. He used Xenophon's report about Peltai to argue that the Anatolian Lykaia coincided with the Lykaia in Arcadia. Cyrus and his army left in March of 401 B.C., which, Immerwahr argued, would put him in Peltai for the Lykaia in the middle of May.⁵⁹²

After discovering I-MTL 4-5, Kourouniotis followed Fougères in assuming that the games were penteteric,⁵⁹³ and he stressed the similarity between the Olympic festival and the Lykaia. He tentatively assigned the first list of I-MTL 4 to 319 B.C. and the first list of I-MTL 5 to 307 B.C. Two observations allowed for these parameters: the lower date was demanded by Lagos, whose victory had to have been sometime around Ptolemy's campaign. The upper date was chosen to accommodate the presence of the pankratiast Antenor of Miletus on the first list of I-MTL 4. This Antenor won at Olympia in 308 B.C., and his victory at the Lykaia could not have occurred too far from this date.⁵⁹⁴ Accordingly, for Kourouniotis the two inscriptions account for the festivals of 319, 315, 311, 307, and 303 B.C. He does not make his reasoning entirely clear, but I

⁵⁹² Immerwahr 1891, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁹³ Kourouniotis 1905, col. 178.

⁵⁹⁴ Kourouniotis 1905, coll. 177-178.

think he chose odd years because of Xenophon's 401 B.C. Anatolian Lykaia, about which Kourouniotis is otherwise dismissive.

Kourouniotis' dismissiveness is due to his disagreement about the time of year in which the festival was held. For Kourouniotis, the spring was too early for a festival that took place in the mountains. He argued that it was held in the summer, some time between the end of June and the end of August.⁵⁹⁵ He explains Xenophon's account of the Anatolian Lykaia by suggesting that when Xenophon says *Xenias ἔθυσσε τὰ Λύκαια καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε*, what he really means is that he sacrificed to Lykaian Zeus and Pan and then held contests to entertain the army. The two events are not necessarily related. This argument has difficulties to which we shall return below (Chapter 4, I, c). He rounds out support for his opinion with sound arguments about agriculture on Lykaion. Immerwahr had assumed that the ancient inhabitants of Lykaion did not plant crops, arguing instead that they only practiced pastoralism. Pastoralism was certainly an important part of the economy, and we shall look at this issue in more depth shortly. However, it is all but certain that the ancients practiced agriculture on Mt. Lykaion, as the locals have done in modern times for centuries. Kourouniotis is therefore correct to point to the late harvest in the Lykaion mountains, which takes place towards the end of summer and must feature in our discussion of the Lykaia. That the summer rain was important for the ancients on Mt. Lykaion is made clear by the testimony of Pausanias concerning the rain magic at the Hagno Fountain. However, it is far from clear that the harvest would necessitate a late summer festival.

⁵⁹⁵ Kourouniotis 1905, coll. 164-166.

Hiller von Gaertringen also supposed that the games were penteteric, although he hesitated about both this fact and the dates he assigned to the festivals on I-MTL 4-5, on the grounds that there was little agreement about the festival's iteration. He assigned the victory of Lagos to 308 B.C., so that altogether the lists would account for five Lykaia between 320 and 304 B.C. As I demonstrated in the previous chapter (III, 3), the placement of Lagos' victory in 308 B.C. makes much more sense than Kourouniotis' 307, for we are told that Ptolemy left the Peloponnese in 308 when the Peloponnesians failed to deliver the aid they had promised.

With the help of two observations, Klee argued that the festival was trieteric (i.e., that it took place every other year).⁵⁹⁶ I-MTL 26, the second century B.C. victory catalogue of the Tegean runner Damatrios, presents his victories in two separate lists. The first enumerates each victory individually (i.e., each of the four victories in the Lykaia are listed separately), perhaps in chronological order. The second list tallies up all the victories per festival. Both lists separate victories in the boys' category from those in the men's. The text reads:

<p>a)</p> <p>Δαμάτριος Ἀριστίππου Ὀλύμπια παῖδας στάδιον, Νέμεα παῖδας δόλιχον, Ἀσκληπίεια παῖδας δόλιχον, 5 Ἀλέαια παῖδας δόλιχον, Λύκαια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Νέμεα ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Ἑκοτόνβοια ἄνδρας δόλι- χον ἵππιον, 10 Ἴσθμια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Ἀλέαια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Πύθια ἄνδρας δόλιχον,</p>	<p>Ἀλέαια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Ἑκοτόμβοια ἄνδρας δόλιχον ἵππιον, Ἴσθμια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, [Λύκαια ἄνδρας δόλιχον], 25 [Πύθια ἄνδρας δόλιχον], [Βασίλεια ἄνδρας δόλιχον],</p> <p>b)</p> <p>Δαμάτριος Ἀριστίππου Ὀλύμπια παῖδας στάδιον, Νέμεα παῖδας δόλιχον, 30 Ἀσκληπίεια παῖδας δόλιχον, Ἀλέαια παῖδας δόλιχον,</p>
--	---

⁵⁹⁶ Klee 1918, pp. 55-56, 66-68.

Ὀλύμπια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Βασίλεια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, 15 Ἴσθμια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Νέμεα ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Λύκαια <ἄ>νδρας δόλιχον, Ἀλέ<αι>α ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Νέμεα ἄνδρας δόλιχον, 20 Λύκαια ἄνδρας δόλιχον,	Λύκαια ἄνδρας δόλιχον τετράκις, Νέμεα ἄνδρας δόλιχον τρίς, Ἑκατόμβοια ἄνδρας δόλιχον ἵππιον δίς, 35 Ἴσθμια ἄνδρας δόλιχον δίς(!), Ἀλέαια ἄνδρας δόλιχον τρίς, Πύθια ἄνδρας δόλιχον δίς, Ὀλύμπια ἄνδρας δόλιχον ἅπαξ, Βασίλεια ἄνδρας δόλιχον δίς
---	---

Klee suggested that in the first catalogue (a) the boys' victories were listed according to the prestige of the festival: Olympia is followed by Nemea and then the Asklepia. The men's category list would seem to be chronological, but at lines 12-13 the Olympia immediately follows upon the Pythia, even though these festivals were two years apart. Klee concluded that Damatrios must have wanted to list his completion of the *periodos* (victories at the Nemea, Isthmia, Pythia, and Olympia) in ascending order, so that in reality there was another Isthmia in between his Pythian and Olympian victories. As a result, we must assume that the Lykaia occurred every two years.

I must confess that I cannot follow Klee's reasoning concerning *IG V, 2.142*. I presume that he drew the conclusion about the trieteric Lykaia because of the double sequence of Nemea – Lykaia – Aleaia, which would seem to indicate that the Lykaia and Aleaia happened at a similar interval to that of the Nemea, which we know to have been held every two years. However, his solution that demands the *periodos* to be listed in ascending order seems like special pleading, and in general throughout his work he is much too concerned with the idea that victories which are listed chronologically must be immediately consecutive. For instance, he never allows for a loss at Nemea in between one victory at the Nemea and the next. Secondly, if one jettisons Klee's strict

interpretation and applies a more fluid one in which victories do not have to follow one immediately after the other, Damatrios' career lasted from about the age of 14 to about the age of 30. With Klee's strict interpretation he retired at 28. The difference is negligible and it follows that we cannot be so exact about determining the year in which a victory was won. It is always possible that our calculations are a few years off.

Klee's second reason for arguing that the Lykaia were trieteric is more sound. He maintained that the presence of the runner Ageus son of Aristokles on the same list as Lagos, which had been dated to 308 or 307 B.C., could not be correct. We know that a man named Ageus son of Aristokles from Argos won an Olympic victory in the year 328 B.C.,⁵⁹⁷ and Klee thought that 20 years was far too long an interval between Ageus' triumphs at the Olympia and Lykaia. He therefore switched the ordering of I-MTL 4 and 5. The latter would come first, and because Lagos was not born until 323 B.C., his victory could not be in 319 B.C. The Lagos list must date to 315 B.C., when he was around eight years old. This would place the victory of Ageus only 13 years after his Olympic win instead of the 20 demanded by the date of Hiller von Gaertringen and Kourouniotis.

Interestingly, Klee downplayed the importance of Xenophon's Anatolian Lykaia. Although he maintained that it necessitated placing the Lykaia in an odd year, he agreed with Kourouniotis' conclusion about the climatic restraints posed by the mountainous landscape. We do not have to take Xenophon so literally.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁷ Euseb. *Chron.* 1.206 Schoene.

⁵⁹⁸ Klee 1918, pp. 67-68.

In his *RE* article, Scherling agreed that the Lykaia had to have fallen in the spring, in May at the latest, if the testimony of Xenophon makes any sense at all.⁵⁹⁹ The close parallel offered by the Olympic festival suggests that the Lykaia were also held every four years.

Ringwood briefly surveyed the Lykaia in her dissertation on agonistic festivals in mainland Greece, agreeing that the season in which Xenophon's Lykaia took place must have some connection with the festival on Mt. Lykaion.⁶⁰⁰ She suggests that the Rhodian Nikagoras must have competed before or after the siege of Demetrius Poliorketes, which lasted from 306/5-304/3 B.C. This would seem to exclude 304 B.C. However, Nikagoras could have departed Rhodes prior to the siege, and indeed his multiple victories at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, Nemea, Argos, Athens, and Sikyon make it clear that he was on the move. We even know that a man named Nikagoras of Rhodes was given citizenship by Ephesos around 300 B.C.,⁶⁰¹ demonstrating that the man in question may have had other places to go when Rhodes was in trouble.

In his recent encyclopedia of ancient sports, Golden cautiously cites the idea that the Lykaia were held every two years, in the Olympiad years before and after the Olympic Games. If this were the case, then they would coincide with the Nemea.⁶⁰² Bremmer repeats the idea that the Lykaia were held every four years in the spring.⁶⁰³

⁵⁹⁹ *RE* XII.2, 1927, coll. 2232-2233, s.v. Lykaia (3) (Scherling).

⁶⁰⁰ Ringwood 1928, pp. 95-98.

⁶⁰¹ *I.Eph* IV 1415.

⁶⁰² Golden 2004, p. 98.

⁶⁰³ Bremmer 2007, p. 66.

Some scholars have assumed that the festival took place every year.⁶⁰⁴ We could also suggest that there were ‘lesser’ Lykaia held every year followed by a ‘greater’ Lykaia every four years, as was the case with the Panathenaia. We unfortunately lack evidence for this idea, and the epigraphic records reveal a different patterning of victories, as we shall see shortly.

There are several other theories about the chronology of the Lykaia that we can easily dismiss. In terms of the time of year at which the festival was held, Glombiowski has suggested that it took place either in mid-February, as an expiatory feast along the lines of the Lupercalia, or at the vernal equinox, i.e., sometime between March 21 and 24.⁶⁰⁵ Either date is too early for the climate of Mt. Lykaion and the calendar of Greek athletic competitions. A very early idea suggested that the festival took place every nine years, following the tradition that the person who was turned into a wolf at the Lykaia could return to human form after nine years if he abstained from human flesh.⁶⁰⁶ The epigraphic records, which show that athletes could win multiple victories at the Lykaia over the course of a single career, invalidate this hypothesis.

b. The Iteration of the Lykaia

We are left with two plausible choices for the iteration of the festival: it was either penteteric or trieteric. There is only one way to assess the question, namely, by tallying up the number of times an athlete won at the Lykaia and comparing this figure with those for festivals with established chronologies. This kind of analysis is only possible for the

⁶⁰⁴ See, e.g., the treatment of the Arcadian League in Beck 1997, p. 70, n. 16.

⁶⁰⁵ Glombiowski 1994, pp. 41-42.

⁶⁰⁶ Schoemann 1902, p. 257.

careers of six athletes, whose competition dates range from the late fifth century B.C. to the second century B.C. The data is most conveniently presented in tabular form⁶⁰⁷:

Name	Dorieus	Prateas	Nikagoras	Kallistratos	Arg. Run.	Damatrios	Menodorus	Mess. Wrestler/ Pugilist
Dates	5 th c. B.C.	3 rd q. of 4 th c. ⁶⁰⁸	Late 4 th c.	260-220 ⁶⁰⁹	200-180	ca. 200	135-130	2 nd c.
<i>Lykaia</i>	3	1	1	1π/2ǎ = 3	5ǎ (3 fest.)	4ǎ ⁶¹⁰	1ǎ	1π/3ǎ = 4
<i>Olympia</i>	3		2		1-2?	1π/1ǎ = 2	2ǎ	2ǎ
<i>Pythia</i>	4	1	1	1ǎ	1ǎ	2ǎ		2ǎ
<i>Isthmia</i>	8	2	3	1π/1ǎγ./3 ǎ = 5 (3 fest.)	5ǎ	3ǎ		1π/1ǎγ. = 2
<i>Nemea</i>	7	3	3	1π/4ǎ = 5 (4 fest.)	2π/4ǎ? = 6	1π/3ǎ = 4	1π/2ǎ = 3	1π/1ǎγ./1ǎ = 3
<i>Panath.</i>	4		1	1π	1ǎ		2ǎ	1π
<i>Asklap.</i>	4					1π		
<i>Hek./ Heraia</i>	3		1		4ǎ	2ǎ	2ǎ	1π/1ǎ = 2
<i>Pyth. Sik.</i>			3		2ǎ			

⁶⁰⁷ For the full table of *Lykaionikai*, see Appendix III. Here I present only the data relevant to the question at hand. Where possible, I have indicated in what age category a victory was won: π(αἰδης), ἄγ(ενεῖους), ᾗ(νδρας). For Dorieus, Nikagoras, and Prateas, all victories are in the men's category.

⁶⁰⁸ Amandry 1980, pp. 217-220.

⁶⁰⁹ Moretti 1953, no. 40. Cabanes 1988 re-dated the inscription to the early second century B.C. on the grounds that the Naa were not recognized as stephanitic until 192 B.C. However, Sève 1991 demonstrates that the sculptor of Kallistratos' monument, the Sikyonian Thoinias son of Teisikrates, must be dated to the third quarter of the third century B.C. There is no reason to assume that Kallistratos only listed stephanitic victories, and indeed if he competed in the middle of the third century B.C. then the Lykaia may not have been so recognized (for more, see below in this same section). Kallistratos' career must be assigned to the third quarter of the third century B.C. at the latest.

⁶¹⁰ As noted above, Damatrios' inscription includes two lists, one that seems to follow the chronological order of his victories, and a second that tallies up his wins at each festival. In the first list there are three Isthmian victories, while in the second only two are cited. I list the higher number, although the lower one could also be correct.

The patterns revealed by the table are intriguing. For the victory list of Dorieus of Rhodes the data are unequivocal.⁶¹¹ Dorieus' competition dates can be determined from his victories at Olympia, which took place in 432, 428, and 424 B.C.⁶¹² The inscribed statue base, which was set up by his nephew around 370-360 B.C.,⁶¹³ demonstrates that he won roughly half as many victories at penteteric festivals as in trieteric games. The Lykaia falls safely within the penteteric group.⁶¹⁴

One could question the evidence presented by Dorieus' inscription, arguing that it is insufficient to prove that the Lykaia were penteteric in his day. However, we must take into account the fact that Dorieus was one of the most successful athletes that ancient Greece produced. He was a three time *periodonikes* from one of the most illustrious athletic families in Greek history, the Diagorids.⁶¹⁵ After his career as a boxer and pankratiast, he engaged in anti-Athenian activities and was captured in 407 B.C. He was eventually released by the Athenians, who respected his athletic abilities, but the Spartans executed him in 385 B.C. after Rhodes revolted from the Lacedaemonian hegemony.⁶¹⁶ Wade-Gery even elucidated a connection with Phigaleia, which would put Dorieus in the vicinity of Mt. Lykaion.⁶¹⁷ Moreover, Pindar (*Ol.* 7) implies that his father Diagoras won at the Lykaian Games.

⁶¹¹ I-MTL 21.

⁶¹² Moretti 1957, nos. 322, 326, 330; cf. Thuc. 3.8, Paus. 6.7.2.

⁶¹³ Moretti 1953, p. 57.

⁶¹⁴ At this point in time the Hekatomboia were penteteric; Klee 1918, pp. 65-66, although one should note that this inscription provides the main support for this conclusion. In the Roman period, the Heraia (the designation for the Hekatomboia from the second century B.C.) were penteteric; Camia and Kantiréa 2010, pp. 387-388; see also Bernardini 1976. We know that the Asklapieia were penteteric thanks to the scholium on Pind. *Nem.* 3.147, which also informs us that they took place nine days after the Isthmia.

⁶¹⁵ Moretti 1953, no. 23; Moretti 1957, nos. 322, 326, and 330; Poliakoff 1987, pp. 119-121.

⁶¹⁶ For the ancient sources, see *RE* V, 2, 1905, s.v. Dorieus (4) (Swoboda).

⁶¹⁷ Wade-Gery 1966. Dorieus' ancestor was the Messenian hero Aristomenes. Even if the connection was fabricated, it demonstrates that Dorieus' family claimed a stake in the area of Mt. Lykaion.

Dorieus must have won many more competitions than are inscribed on the statue base.⁶¹⁸ The inscription includes only the most prestigious and meaningful festivals in which he was victorious. We shall return to this point below when discussing the status of the Lykaian Games among Greek agonistic festivals (Chapter 4, V-VI). For the present, I stress the fact that Dorieus' statue base provides solid evidence for a penteteric Lykaia in the fifth century B.C. The three victories at the Lykaia are matched by three at Olympia and four at the Pythia. The inscription implies that participating in the Lykaian games brought high prestige, and we can assume that Dorieus attended each festival held during the course of his career. If the Lykaia had been trieteric, we should expect more victories, along the lines of his triumphs at Nemea (seven) and Isthmia (eight).⁶¹⁹ Since we can place a Lykaia in 308 B.C., in the fourth Olympiad year,⁶²⁰ I hazard the suggestion that Dorieus' Lykaian victories occurred just before each of his Olympic triumphs, in 432, 428, and 424 B.C.

The Argive wrestler Prateas has a similar ratio of penteteric : trieteric victories as Dorieus, although he was not nearly so prolific.⁶²¹ In any event, the inscription supports the conclusion that the Lykaia were penteteric in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. The evidence offered by the victory list of Nikagoras of Lindos, an equestrian

⁶¹⁸ Compare another particularly prolific boxer and pankratiast, Theogenes of Thasos, who is said to have won 1200 or 1400 victories over a 22 year career. These included two at Olympia, three at Delphi, ten at Isthmia, and nine at Nemea; Paus. 6.11.2-9; Poliakoff 1987, pp. 121-122; Kyle 2015, p. 192.

⁶¹⁹ Cf. Miller 1990, p. 3.

⁶²⁰ See Chapters 3, III, c and 4, I, c.

⁶²¹ I-MTL 22.

competitor, points in the same direction, for he won more times at Isthmia and Nemea than at penteteric festivals.⁶²²

There is unfortunately a hiatus after Prateas and Nikagoras. The monument of Kallistratos of Sikyon falls somewhere between 260-220 B.C.,⁶²³ but his victories do not reveal a particularly clear patterning. He won the most victories at Nemea and Isthmia, but some of these took place at the same festival. Penteteric festivals are the least well represented, while the Lykaia falls somewhere in the middle. This is our earliest evidence for the boys' *pankration* at Lykaion, so there was clearly some kind of reorganization or adjustment during the early or mid-third century B.C., although we cannot say for certain whether this included a shift from a penteteric to trieteric schedule.

The most difficult inscription belongs to the Argive runner, whose name is unfortunately lost.⁶²⁴ Moretti includes him as a four-time Olympic champion in the men's *diaulos*,⁶²⁵ although I hesitate to accept the interpretation. The monument is a rectangular cuboid statue base, with the larger faces measuring 0.55 x 0.50 m, the smaller 0.50 x 0.45 m. It is inscribed on two surfaces: one face has a lengthy inscription documenting victories at festivals other than the four major Panhellenic celebrations. On the face to the left there is a second set of texts: below are four crowns arranged in two rows, of which the bottom two document one victory at the Pythia and five at the Isthmia. The upper left wreath documents a victory in the hoplite race at an unspecified festival, while the wreath

⁶²² I-MTL 24. We unfortunately do not know the iteration of the Pythia in Sikyon. The name could suggest that they were penteteric, as the Pythia in Delphi were, in which case his three victories at Sikyon match those at Nemea and Isthmia. However, it is also possible that they were trieteric. I-MTL 5 indicates that Nikagoras won at the Lykaia in 304 B.C.

⁶²³ I-MTL 25; Moretti 1953, no. 40. For a more detailed account of his career, see below, Chapter 4, II, c.

⁶²⁴ I-MTL 27.

⁶²⁵ Moretti 1957, nos. 592, 595, 599, 605.

to the right is left blank. Above the wreaths, along the top margin of the stone, is the following inscription:

1 [N]εμέα παῖδας στά[διον δία]υλον Ὀλύμπια[- - - -
2 ἄνδρας δίαυλ[ον τετρ]ά[κ]ις

In previous editions of this inscription, editors have not made it clear that there is a sizeable gap after ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ[that continues to the edge of the stone. This part of the stone is considerably damaged, and I suggest that the text continued here, listing the Argive runner's Olympic victory or victories. There is a 4.5 cm *vacat* between the N of δία]υλον and the beginning of Ὀλύμπια[, whereas the second line is clearly in alignment with the Nemea list. What we have here is a small column, with Nemean victories in the boys' events above and the men's events below. This configuration not only makes more sense epigraphically, it also fits better with the rest of the athlete's record. As we should expect, we have less victories in the penteteric Pythia (one)⁶²⁶ than the trieteric Isthmia (five). His four victories at the Heraia – also penteteric – do not cause much alarm, for this was the major festival of his hometown of Argos.⁶²⁷ On my interpretation, the six victories at Nemea fit the pattern, and the high number of wins at this festival also makes sense when we consider that Argos administered the Nemean Games. If my reconstruction of the inscription is correct, the five Lykaian victories fit better with the trieteric group, although this point loses much of its significance thanks to the fact that they were won at only three festivals. The Argive runner thus adds little to our investigation.

⁶²⁶ And, perhaps, two at the Pythia in Sikyon; cf. above, n. 622.

⁶²⁷ Klee 1918, 64-66, however, argues that they were trieteric at this time.

The list of Damatrios shows a similar distribution.⁶²⁸ He won more Isthmian and Nemean victories than Pythian or Olympian, but only one more in each case. His four Lykaian victories could point towards a trieteric festival, but we must keep in mind that he was an Arcadian from Tegea, and thus he would almost certainly have attended the Lykaia more frequently than other festivals. This point is underscored by his victories at the Aleaia, held by his hometown, where he triumphed once as a boy and three times in the men's category. As we have already noted, Klee argued that the ordering of victories in the chronological list demanded a trieteric Lykaia.⁶²⁹ However, the fact that the numbers in the first inscription do not always correspond with those in the second means that we should not put too much trust in the accuracy of the chronological ordering. Damatrios' monument, like the previous texts, could imply that the festival was trieteric, but it does not necessitate this conclusion.

We should briefly acknowledge an important point about the Argive runner and Damatrios: they were runners. Athletes who specialized in the footraces could have exceptionally long careers, as Ageus of Argos, a victor at both Olympia and Lykaion, demonstrates. His Olympic victory is dated to 328 B.C., whereas he is featured as the *dolichos* champion on the Lykaian list that dates to 308 B.C. Ageus was certainly of singularly rare talent: on the same day as his Olympic victory in the *dolichos*, he ran the ca. 100 km to Argos to announce the triumph. Indeed, the twenty year gap between Ageus' victories at Olympia and Lykaion prompted Klee to redate I-MTL 5 to 315

⁶²⁸ I-MTL 26. For Damatrios, see Klee 1918, pp. 55-56; Moretti 1953, no. 44; Moretti 1957, nos. 593, 600.

⁶²⁹ Klee 1918, pp. 55-56.

B.C.⁶³⁰ However, recent scientific research on masters' class runners has demonstrated that, with proper training, men can remain competitive into their 60s.⁶³¹ Indeed, the study of Young and Starke concluded that "[t]he moderation of age-related performance decline in the longitudinal sample was particularly evident for the 10 km event compared to the 1500 m distance."⁶³² In this connection, it is interesting to note that the *dolichos* – Ageus' event – is thought to have been 7.5-9 km.⁶³³ Accordingly, victory lists of runners could span careers long enough to rack up four or five victories in penteteric competitions, highlighting once again that we must consider this data with extreme caution.

Menodoros had two monuments set up in his honor, one in his hometown of Athens, the other on Delos.⁶³⁴ He was a talented pugilist, but his single victory at the Lykaia cannot help us in the present inquiry.

A second century B.C. inscription from Messene recently published by Professor Themelis arguably has a more telling distribution.⁶³⁵ Four victories at the Lykaia are matched by three at the Nemea, with two each at Olympia and Delphi. However, if we did not know the iteration of the Isthmia, the two victories recorded in this text would seem to indicate that the games were held every four years. This point must be kept in mind when assessing the data for the Lykaia. Our evidence is subject to the particular circumstances presented by an athlete's abilities and opportunities. In this connection, we

⁶³⁰ Klee 1918, p. 67. He is followed by Moretti 1957, no. 464. For similar feats of long-distance running in Greek antiquity, see Moretti 1953, no. 31.

⁶³¹ Young and Starke 2005.

⁶³² Young and Starke 2005, p. 88.

⁶³³ Kyle 2015, p. 115.

⁶³⁴ I-MTL 28-29. On the sculptors, see Dow 1941.

⁶³⁵ I-MTL 37.

should acknowledge the proximity of Messene to Megalopolis and Mt. Lykaion, which would have made it easier for Messenian athletes to travel to the Lykaia. Still, the distribution could indicate a trieteric Lykaia in the second century B.C.

As we did in the case of the runners, we must address the specialists in the so-called ‘heavy’ events (βαρέα ἄθλα). On the one hand, we have evidence for the tremendously long careers of the most famous competitors.⁶³⁶ Milo of Kroton (536-512 B.C.), for example, won six times at Olympia over a career that lasted at least 24 years. Theogenes of Thasos had a similarly successful and lengthy career of 22 years.⁶³⁷ Dorieus’ father Diagoras won crowns at a wide range of contests, and Dorieus himself had a career that must have lasted around 16 years (cf. his four Pythian crowns). In the seventh century B.C., the Spartan wrestler Hipposthenes won six times at Olympia, but not successively – a feat requiring an incredibly long career.⁶³⁸

Legends accrued around all of these men. Diagoras was rumored to be the son of Herakles or Hermes; Theogenes was worshipped as a god on Thasos; Milo suffered a spectacular death at the hands of a tree and some wolves; the boxer Euthymos of Lokroi⁶³⁹ was rumored to be the son of the river Karkinos; Kleomedes of Astypalaia was worshipped as a hero after crushing a group of schoolchildren.⁶⁴⁰ These men’s careers all straddled the late Archaic and early Classical periods, and Poliakoff has demonstrated

⁶³⁶ Decker 1995, pp. 78-79; Crowther 2004, pp. 265-266.

⁶³⁷ Victories at Olympia in 480 and 476 B.C.; Poliakoff 1987, pp. 121-122.

⁶³⁸ Golden 2004, p. 84. The hypothesis of Mallwitz and Sinn that the earliest games may have been annual does not affect the career of Hipposthenes, whose activity is dated to the second half of the seventh century B.C. It is generally agreed that by around 700 or 680 B.C. the games were organized along the lines familiar from later history. For a summary of the theories about the origins of the games, see Kyle 2015, pp. 99-103.

⁶³⁹ Moretti 1953, no. 21; Moretti 1957, no. 13. He won at Olympia in 484, 476, and 472 B.C.

⁶⁴⁰ Poliakoff 1987, pp. 117-124.

that the violent nature of combat sports encouraged the heroization of such champions.⁶⁴¹

They were violent, harsh, and proud, and they thus resembled great heroes like Herakles. Gigantic size and strength were similarly characteristic of both mythical heroes and combat athletes.

The more human practitioners of the heavy events have less striking – but still impressive – records.⁶⁴² As one can see from the data in note 642, a particularly spectacular competitor's career did not exceed three Olympic victories. Surely their abnormally long careers were among the reasons that the most famous victors in *pankration*, boxing, and wrestling were heroized. The violence that characterized these three events – above all boxing – probably limited the vast majority of athletes to careers of no more than ten to twelve years.⁶⁴³ Indeed, Dorieus' four victories at the Pythia mark his career out as particularly lengthy, and I suggest that the background to the story about Kleomedes murdering schoolchildren is the realization that, if someone gets repeatedly

⁶⁴¹ Poliakoff 1987, pp. 128-129.

⁶⁴² The following data are drawn from Moretti 1953 (Archaic to A.D. 60): no. 1 (Aristis of Kleonai, four Nemean); no. 14 (Kyniskos of Mantinea, one Olympic); no. 15 (Callias of Athens, one Olympic, two Pythian, five Isthmian, four Nemean, one Panathenaian; known career, 484-474 B.C.: Moretti 1957, no. 228); no. 20 (Xenokles of Mainalon, one Olympic); no. 22 (Diophanes and Stephanos of Athens, one Isthmian each); no. 25 (Sostratos of Sikyon, three Olympic, two Pythian, twelve combined crowns from Isthmia and Nemea; length of career, 367-356 B.C.: Moretti 1957, no. 420); no. 26 (Aischylos of Thespiiai, one Olympic); no. 29 (Hagias of Pharsalos, one Olympic, three Pythian, two Nemean, five Isthmian); no. 33 (Philip of Pellana, one Olympic); no. 36 (Euankritos of Thebes, two Isthmian, one Nemean); no. 42 (Atanikos of Thebes, one Nemean, three at the Basileia); no. 46 (Epitherses of Erythrai, two Olympic, *periodonikes*); no. 47 (Polykreon and Hagesistratos of Lindos, one Nemean and one Olympic, respectively); no. 48 (Athenopolis of Priene, one AsklaPieia); no. 49 (Xenothemis of Miletos, one Olympic, one Pythian, one Isthmian, one Nemean, two at the Didymeia); no. 52 (Babon and Nikomachos of Miletos, one at the Soteria and one Nemean, one at the Herakleia of Pergamon, respectively); no. 55 (Dorokleidas of Thera, two victories on the same day); no. 58 (Philippos Glykon, one Olympic, one Pythian, one Isthmian, two Nemean, two Aktian); no. 62 (Demokrates of Magnesia on the Maeander, three Olympic, one Pythian, two Isthmian, two Nemean, three Aktian, two at the Heraia, among others); no. 64 (P. Cornelius Ariston, one Olympic); no. 65 (Tiberius Claudius Patrobius, three Olympic, two or three Pythian, one Isthmian, two Nemean).

⁶⁴³ On the violence of combat sports, see Kyle 2015, pp. 119-121. For the extreme brutality of boxing, see Poliakoff 1987, pp. 85-88.

hit in the head over the course of many years, a psychotic break is always potentially looming.

Accordingly, the combat sport athletes may provide us with better data for assessing the question of the Lykaia's iteration, although the anecdotal nature of our evidence means that we cannot be certain. The Messenian wrestler and pankratiast won four times at the Lykaia, whereas at Olympia and Delphi he only triumphed twice. If the Lykaia were penteteric, we should expect a minimum of sixteen years for his career. This is indeed possible when we look at the records of the greatest boxers, wrestlers, and pankratiasts of antiquity, but it is more likely that the anonymous Messenian competed for a shorter duration. The ratio of victories at known penteteric festivals to Lykaian triumphs could thus point towards a trieteric festival (2 Olympia/2 Pythia/1 Panathenaia : 4 Lykaia), although note that one of the Lykaian victories was won in the boys' category.

To summarize, we can be quite confident that in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the Lykaia were penteteric. This situation arguably extends back to the third quarter of the seventh century B.C., the date of the earliest material from the Lower Sanctuary.⁶⁴⁴ The first century and a half of the Archaic period saw the four Panhellenic festivals and the Panathenaia organized or reorganized,⁶⁴⁵ and it seems that the Parrhasians were in no way backwards with respect to their festival. Pindar (*Nem.* 10) implies that the ancestors of Theaios of Argos won at the Lykaia in the sixth century B.C., which provides the earliest testimony for the festival in Greek literature.

⁶⁴⁴ See Chapter 3, II, b.

⁶⁴⁵ Miller 2004, pp. 31, 133.

From here the data gets thinner, but the monuments of Prateas and Nikagoras seem to indicate that the Lykaia continued to be penteteric into the early third century B.C. The records of Damatrios and the Messenian wrestler/pankratiast show an increase in victories at the Lykaia, which suggests that something had changed. In this connection, we must consider the Athenian inscription recently re-published as *IG II³ 1184*. The text dates to shortly after 217 B.C.⁶⁴⁶ and documents the refoundation of the Lykaia as a stephanitic and (probably) isolympic festival. A Megalopolitan delegation came to Athens to proclaim the new Lykaian Games, and the Athenians in turn accepted the reorganized festival and pledged to send *theoroi* to celebrate with the Arcadians (I-MTL 52; first seven lines restored by Robert):

[. . .]υλος Κλέων[ος — — — εἶπεν· ἐπειδή, πρότερόν τε τοῦ δήμου τοῦ]
Μεγαλοπολιτῶν [ἀποστείλαντος θεωροῦς τοὺς ἐπαγγέλλοντας τὸν ἀγῶνα]
τῶν Λυκαίων στεφαν[ίτην γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἰσολύμπιον, ὁ δὴ]-
μος εὐχαριστεῖν αὐ[τῷ προαιρούμενος ἐψηφίσατο ἀποδέχεσθαι]
5 τε τὸν ἀγῶνα καθάπε[ρ ἐπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ θεωροὶ στεφανίτην καὶ]
ἀποστέλλειν θεωρο[ὺς εἰς τὰ Λύκαια τοὺς συνθύσοντας τὴν θυσίαν]
καὶ νῦν δὲ πάλιν ἀπέσ[ταλκεν κτλ.]

As we saw in Chapter 3 (IV), Dow was surely correct to associate this inscription with aftermath of the Kleomenean War, which featured a battle on Mt. Lykaion (227 B.C.) and destruction at Megalopolis (223 B.C.).⁶⁴⁷ After the defeat of Kleomenes in 222 B.C., the city was reinhabited and a new constitution was drawn up, first by the Athenian peripatetic Prytanis. Civic strife ensued, and the duty for drafting the constitution was taken up by the Megalopolitan Kerkidas. In Dow's words, this was "a time of new beginnings." The Lykaia had lapsed on account of the war, and the acceptance of the

⁶⁴⁶ See Tracy and Edmunds 1978, p. 249; Habicht 2006, p. 157.

⁶⁴⁷ Dow 1937, pp. 120-126.

reorganized festival by Athens would lend it legitimacy. One of the major impulses behind the re-foundation was probably a reduction in the wealth of Megalopolis after the city's destruction. The Lykaia would bring competitors and pilgrims, who in turn would stimulate trade in southwestern Arcadia.

I suggest that the increased number of victories at the Lykaia that we see beginning around 200 B.C. were due to the reestablishment of the festival. From this time, the Lykaia were held at Megalopolis, a location much more accessible for both the competitors and pilgrims. It was Megalopolis – not the sanctuary on Lykaion – that had suffered destruction at the hands of Kleomenes, and the activity that accompanied rebuilding focused attention on the Great City. Kleomenes had, moreover, outmaneuvered and defeated the Achaeans on Mt. Lykaion, and the defeat arguably highlighted the area's vulnerability. The archaeology of the sanctuary points in the same direction, for in the Hellenistic period the corridor leading from the administrative building to the hippodrome began to be filled with dining wares and other refuse, among which were lamps dating from the third century B.C. to the first.⁶⁴⁸ Furthermore, the latest dateable context in the hippodrome can be assigned to the transition from the third century B.C. to the second, a close match for our inscription.⁶⁴⁹ It is worth reiterating that the second century B.C. saw the first Megalopolitan decrees prescribing honors at the Lykaia (I-MTL 43-44).

The sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea offers a parallel for the situation at Lykaion. In the late fifth century B.C., the games and sanctuary came under the control of Argos,

⁶⁴⁸ Romano and Voyatzis 2015, p. 217-220.

⁶⁴⁹ Romano and Voyatzis 2015, p. 258.

having previously been administered by Kleonai.⁶⁵⁰ From this time until around 330 B.C., the games were celebrated at Argos. From 330 B.C. they returned to Nemea, only to be transferred back to Argos sometime in the early Hellenistic period, where they remained for the rest of antiquity. In the late third century B.C., Aratos, the leader of the Achaean League, had a falling out with Argos and held a rival Nemea at the old sanctuary site.⁶⁵¹ While the political circumstances surrounding these events were admittedly distinct from those at Lykaion, we can also perceive similarities. The interest of Aratos and the Achaean League in the major festival at Nemea is apparent, and we should note that Megalopolis had joined the League in 235 B.C., shortly before the war with Kleomenes. Furthermore, the final and permanent transfer of the Nemea to a major polis center occurred in the Hellenistic period, just as we have argued for Mt. Lykaion. An even closer – but unfortunately less well documented – parallel is found in the Hekatomboia/Heraia, which until the middle of the third century B.C. is referred to as the Hekatomboia. Around the end of the century the name was changed to Heraia, and it has been suggested that the festival was moved to Argos at the same time.⁶⁵²

Accordingly, I suggest that the Lykaia were penteteric down through the late third century B.C., at which time the celebration was transferred to the Megalopolis Basin. The Megalopolitans sought approval for the re-founded Lykaia at Athens, and the Athenians confirmed the games as stephanitic and (probably) isolympic, meaning that victors in the Lykaia were rewarded with special treatment in their hometowns, perhaps on par with

⁶⁵⁰ Miller 1982; Miller 1990, pp. 61-62.

⁶⁵¹ Miller 1990, pp. 53-58.

⁶⁵² Amandry 1980, pp. 226, 244-248.

that granted to Olympic victors (hence, isolympic).⁶⁵³ While some of the data point towards a trieteric festival at this time, one could also imagine that the very fact that the festival was moved to Megalopolis was enough to increase the number of times an athlete participated, so that we have less need to posit the switch. Indeed, if the games were declared isolympic, the parallel with Olympia points towards the continuation of the penteteric festival.

c. The Year and Season of the Lykaia

I hypothesize that the Lykaia were held in the spring of the fourth Olympiad year, shortly before the Isthmia. My reasoning is threefold. Firstly, the festival of 308 B.C., when Lagos triumphed in the two-horse chariot race, occurred in the fourth Olympiad year. In this same year Ptolemy presided over the Isthmian festival.⁶⁵⁴ If the Lykaia occurred just prior to the Isthmia, we can understand why Ptolemy did not come to Arcadia in person but rather sent Lagos and his admiral Euainetos, for Ptolemy himself was presumably busy with preparations for the Isthmia. If he were only a competitor or spectator at the festival, we should expect his presence at both the Lykaia and the Isthmia. As the presider at the Isthmos, however, Ptolemy was tied up and could not leave Corinth. In this connection, it is of interest that we see the sequence of Lykaia – Isthmia in three chronologically-ordered victory lists.⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁵³ See Remijsen 2011.

⁶⁵⁴ See Chapter 3, III, c.

⁶⁵⁵ I-MTL 22 (Prateas of Argos), I-MTL 25 (Kallistratos of Sikyon), I-MTL 34 (Sosias of Messene). The first two date before the reorganization. These records suggest that athletes had no problem competing in both festivals. As the presider at the Isthmia, however, Ptolemy's situation would have been different from that of the competitors.

Secondly, we must take into account Xenophon's Anatolian Lykaia at Peltai. The fact that this event occurred in 401 B.C. would seem to contradict my argument. A close examination of Xenophon's words is therefore in order (*Anab.* 1.2.10):

ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῦρος.

Cyrus remained there (sc. Peltai) for three days. During this time Xenias the Arcadian made the Lykaia sacrifice and held an *agon*. The prizes given were golden strigils, and Cyrus too was a spectator at the *agon*.

The phrase Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσσε can only mean that Xenias performed the sacrifice characteristic of Mt. Lykaion, τὰ Λύκαια [sc. ἱερά]. If, as Kourouniotis proposed, Xenophon meant 'Xenias sacrificed to Zeus Lykaios,' we should certainly expect something like Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς τῷ Διὶ Λυκαίῳ ἔθυσσε.⁶⁵⁶ As others have concluded, the Lykaia sacrifice at Peltai must have had some connection with the Lykaia of Mt. Lykaion. The fact that Xenias was a Parrhasian suggests that he knew the particularities of the ritual.

However, this does not mean that Xenias intended to hold the Lykaian Games. It is most probable that, even if the games were only held every four years, each year at the appropriate time the traditional sacrificial rite was performed in honor of Zeus Lykaios at the Ash Altar. This rite would have the same name as the agonistic festival, both being designated by the neuter plural adjective derived from the god's epithet.⁶⁵⁷ By way of comparison, Pausanias tells us that the Eleans sacrificed to Olympian Zeus daily.

Additionally, each year on the nineteenth of the month of Elaphios they mixed ash from

⁶⁵⁶ Compare Xenophon's need to sacrifice to Zeus Meilichios according to ancestral custom by offering holocausts; Xen. *Anab.* 7.8.4.

⁶⁵⁷ Τὰ Λύκαια ἱερά and/or τὰ Λύκαια ἄλλα.

the bouleuterion with water from the Alpheios and spread the resulting paste onto the ash altar of Olympian Zeus.⁶⁵⁸ Xenias' performance of the Lykaia sacrifice ought to be interpreted along these same lines, and the very fact that he held an *agon* in Anatolia implies that the Lykaian Games were not performed in the same year. If it were otherwise, it is possible that at least some of the Arcadians in the army would have misinterpreted the event and accused him of impropriety.⁶⁵⁹ As their commander, he would not have wanted to run this risk. Moreover, the prizes were not the traditional bronze objects that were awarded on Mt. Lykaion, but rather golden strigils. Xenias' *agon* was thus not equivalent to the Lykaian Games, which in any case were not even held that year.⁶⁶⁰ If they had been held that year, and if – as scholars generally agree – the Games went hand in hand with Arcadian identity, we should expect to hear that at least some of them felt obliged to return home to participate.⁶⁶¹

But what of the yearly Lykaian *sacrifice* that I have proposed? An obvious parallel can be found in the Panathenaia. Every four years the Greater Panathenaia included musical, gymnastic, and equestrian games, but in the other three years the Lesser Panathenaia featured only torch races and competitions in the pyrrhic dance.⁶⁶² Both the Greater and Lesser festivals were held on Athena's birthday in July, and both involved sacrifices. We must imagine that Xenias was similarly commemorating the yearly rite at Mt. Lykaion while on campaign, and it is possible that, as at the Lesser Panathenaia,

⁶⁵⁸ Paus. 5.13.10-11.

⁶⁵⁹ On the Arcadians in Cyrus' army, see Roy 1972.

⁶⁶⁰ Note also that Xenophon does not use the definite article with *agon*: καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε. It is not *the* contest, but *a* contest.

⁶⁶¹ On the importance that the Lykaian Games had for Arcadian identity, see Nielsen 1999, pp. 27-32, 44-45; Jost 2007, p. 266.

⁶⁶² Golden 2004, pp. 123-127.

there were less formal contests on Mt. Lykaion each year, held in honor of Zeus Lykaios but frequented by a more local crowd.

The important point to take away from Xenophon's *Anabasis* is that Xenias, himself a Parrhasian, knew the time at which the Lykaia *sacrifice* had to be observed each year, just as an Athenian would know that Athena's birthday was accompanied by the Panathenaia sacrifice. This means that, while Xenias' *agon* did not represent the pentetetic Lykaian Games, the date at which he performed the Lykaia sacrifice should have been around the same time that the games were held (in the appropriate year). The army reached Peltai in late April,⁶⁶³ and this corresponds with the hypothesis that the Lykaia occurred just before the Isthmia, in April or May.

Thirdly, the pastoral and agricultural cycle of southwestern Arcadia (and, more generally, of all Arcadia) supports the hypothesis of a springtime Lykaia. We begin with the conventions of pastoralism, an activity that characterized Arcadia from the time of Homer at the very latest. Modern scholarship has been much divided on the issue of transhumance in ancient Greece. Some subscribe to the agro-pastoralist model, which downplays the role of long-distance transhumance among Greek shepherds. Others argue for more widespread transhumance that took shepherds from mountain summer pastures to lowland winter ones located relatively far away. This is not the place to get into this debate,⁶⁶⁴ but it is worth noting that two recent specialist studies on pastoralism in Arcadia have affirmed the idea that transhumance was an important part of the economy.

⁶⁶³ The date of the departure was probably March 6; Greenewalt 1995, pp. 126-127, n. 3. Jost 1985, p. 268, according to which the association between the activity at Peltai in April and the Lykaia festival "il ne peut s'agir que d'une hypothèse vraisemblable."

⁶⁶⁴ For a summary, see Howe 2008, ch. 1.

Roy has suggested that eastern Arcadian pastoralists moved to the Argolid and Laconia, and the same must have occurred in the west, where the shepherds could have gone to Messenia and Eleia.⁶⁶⁵ Howe has also highlighted the importance of pastoralism in ancient Arcadia, pointing in particular to the primary role of Pan in Arcadian religion and the literary tradition that Arcadia was rich in flocks.⁶⁶⁶

That pastoralism was fundamental in southwestern Arcadia in particular is made clear by the Archaic dedications from the sanctuaries of Parrhasia, where Pan is deeply embedded in the religious topography. As Morgan has argued, the figurines representing shepherds imply a set of socio-economic concerns peculiar to southwestern Arcadia.⁶⁶⁷ We find these above all at Berekla on the southern side of Mt. Lykaion,⁶⁶⁸ and note that Hermes is depicted in a shepherd's outfit at the Ash Altar.⁶⁶⁹ Roy's study of the Berekla Pan sanctuary has demonstrated that it was also frequented by people who inhabited northern Messenia, and this would make sense if pastoralists from southwestern Arcadia had established connections with the residents of the Stenyklarian Plain and Soulima Valley, as they did in more recent times.⁶⁷⁰

It is probable that in southwestern Arcadia wealth went hand in hand with the possession of flocks. Support for this idea is found in the urban layout of Megalopolis, where a large circuit of walls was built to accommodate the flocks of the wealthiest citizens during times of crisis. Roy even suggests that pastoralist practices account for the

⁶⁶⁵ Roy 1999, pp. 329-333, 349-356.

⁶⁶⁶ Roy 1999, pp. 331-332; Howe 2008, pp. 73-74, with ancient sources at n. 83.

⁶⁶⁷ Morgan 1999, p. 409.

⁶⁶⁸ See Lamb 1925-1926 and the catalogue in Hübinger 1992.

⁶⁶⁹ Kourouniotis 1904, coll. 196-199, with pl. 9.

⁶⁷⁰ Roy 2010a; Cooper 1996, pp. 44-45; Chapter 2, I, b.

rationale behind the extensive circuit walls, for each year a large number of animals had to be corralled before the move to winter pasture.⁶⁷¹

Accordingly, the pastoral economy of southwestern Arcadia must be taken into account when discussing the timing of the Lykaian Games. The festival could not have occurred during the winter, when the flocks were grazing in lowland regions. The pastoral calendar in ancient Greece generally held to the following pattern: in October the shepherds gathered the animals for movement to lowland winter pasture; early in spring the sheep and goats would lamb, and shearing took place a little bit later; the shepherds returned to upland summer pasture in April, where they remained until October.⁶⁷² The Sarakatsani of northern Greece provide an interesting modern parallel. The anthropologist J.K. Campbell lived with a group of Sarakatsani from 1954-1955, and he stresses that their two most important holidays were the feasts of Saints George and Demetrios, on the 23rd of April and the 26th of October, respectively. These feasts are held just before the two annual migrations, the former to winter pasture and the latter to summer pasture.⁶⁷³ An ancient parallel is provided by the Naa festival at Dodona, which Quantin has recently suggested was held in October or November, on the occasion of the return from summer pasture on Mt. Tmaros to the valley of Dodona.⁶⁷⁴ McInerney draws our attention to the Cattle Crossing Festival of the Fulani people in Africa. After months of herding other people's cattle, the young men drive their herds back across the Sahel

⁶⁷¹ Roy 2007, pp. 294-295.

⁶⁷² Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, pp. 99-101. The *locus classicus* for transhumant practices in ancient Greece is Soph. *OT* 1121-1140. Cf. especially 1133-1139: εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι / κάτοιδεν, ἦμος τῷ Κιθαιρῶνος τόποι, / ὁ μὲν διπλοῖσι ποιμνίοις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐνί, / ἐπλησίαζον τῷδε τάνδρ' ἰ τρεῖς ὅλους / ἐξ ἥρος εἰς ἀρκτοῦρον ἐκμήνους χρόνους / χειμῶνα δ' ἤδη τὰμά τ' εἰς ἔπαυλ' ἐγὼ / ἥλαυνον οὐτός τ' εἰς τὰ Λαΐου σταθμά.

⁶⁷³ Campbell 1964, pp. 7, 343-344.

⁶⁷⁴ Quantin 2008, pp. 35-37.

river in December. Here they celebrate their return by mingling freely with the young women. The youths tell stories of their time abroad, and those with the best herds are highly valued as prospective husbands, while the worst herder is rewarded with a peanut.⁶⁷⁵

Accordingly, I suggest that the Lykaia were held upon the return of the flocks to summer pasture in the mountains of southwestern Arcadia, an event which occurred each year around the end of April or the beginning of May. This idea makes sense when we consider the faunal record of the Ash Altar, where 94-98% of the recovered material was of sheep and goat. Additionally 69-89% of the animals were younger than three years of age at death. Starkovich has identified older juvenile sheep/goat as the preferred offering at the Ash Altar. These animals would have been near maximum size and at prime age for eating.⁶⁷⁶

The people who worshipped on Mt. Lykaion were experienced herders of sheep and goats, and their animals had to be on the mountain at the time of the festival. Even if the herdsmen were of lower status – a fact about which we cannot be certain – the owners of the flocks would have been keen to demonstrate their position, generosity, and piety by sacrificing choice animals from their newly-returned flocks. Additionally, return to summer pasture marked the homecoming of the shepherds, and this was thus an appropriate time to celebrate the area's patron deity, Zeus Lykaios.

A springtime Lykaia is also supported by the agricultural calendar. As Kourouniotis pointed out, the harvest in southwestern Arcadia comes later in the summer.

⁶⁷⁵ McInerney 2010, p. 141.

⁶⁷⁶ B. Starkovich in Roman and Voyatzis 2014, pp. 645-646.

Harvest occurs in June and threshing in July. This would have been a time of great activity for the Parrhasians, and it would thus have been a poor occasion for holding a major festival that attracted pilgrims and athletes from outside of their region.

Furthermore, we have seen that, as the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaïos came to belong to all of Arcadia, the festival was frequented by all of the Arcadians, not just the Parrhasians.

These other Arcadians would also have been busy in June and July with their harvest and threshing, and it would therefore have been difficult for them to travel to the extreme southwest of their region to celebrate the Lykaia. Indeed, Morgan has pointed out that the Olympia similarly avoided all major harvests.⁶⁷⁷

We should briefly address Kourouniotis' objection about the weather. It is true that the time around the turn of April to May can be accompanied by cold weather in the uplands of Arcadia. Roy has gathered data from the weather station near Tripolis in Arcadia, which sits at an elevation of 651.9 m above sea level.⁶⁷⁸ The average maximum temperature in April from 1957 to 1996 was 17.2 degrees Celsius, the average minimum 4.9, with absolute maximum and minimum at 29.8 and -4.2. The figures for May were 22.7 degrees Celsius for the average maximum, 8.2 for the average minimum, and 37.0 and -0.2 for the absolute maximum and minimum. Clearly things would have been warming up towards the end of April, but we still must allow for the possibility that it could be chilly when the festival was held. This must have been a risk that the Arcadians were willing to run, and indeed in a certain sense the harsh climate would go hand in hand with the harsh mountain landscape and the stories that grew up about cannibalism

⁶⁷⁷ Morgan 1990, p. 43.

⁶⁷⁸ Roy 1999, p. 322, fig. I.

and lycanthropy.⁶⁷⁹ This may not be the time of year that we would want to hold a festival, but when all of the available data point in this direction, it is difficult to dismiss the springtime Lykaia on the grounds that the participants had to face the potentiality of cold weather. Indeed, we have a hard time accepting the reality of human sacrifice on Mt. Lykaion, but the ancients had no problem believing it. Compare the Luperci, who performed their ritual in mid-February wearing only goatskins.

Having discussed the historical and economic arguments in favor of a springtime Lykaia in the fourth Olympiad year, we must now check our conclusions against the available epigraphical data. First, however, a summary of the chronological framework of the Greek agonistic calendar will be helpful.

Five fixed points are provided by the Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia, and Panathenaia festivals.⁶⁸⁰ The Olympia started the four year Olympic cycle in the late summer of the first year. The first full moon after the summer solstice marked the beginning of the sacred truce, during which competitors made their way to Elis for the required month of training. Once training had been completed, the athletes processed to Olympia over the course of two days, and the festival lasted for five days. A full year later, in August or September of the second Olympiad year, the Nemea were celebrated. In the following April or May (still in the second Olympiad year) the Isthmia were held. July marked the beginning of the third year, which featured the Panathenaia, with the Pythia at Delphi following shortly thereafter in July or August. After another full year, the Nemea were celebrated again during August or September, and in the following April

⁶⁷⁹ Jost 2002, p. 186.

⁶⁸⁰ See Golden 1998, pp. 10-11, with tab. 1. On the Panathenaia, see Klee 1918, p. 68.

or May the Isthmia rounded out the cycle. In July or August the calendar reset with the next Olympic festival.

Thanks to literary and epigraphic sources, we can flesh out this calendar a bit further. The data will be most accessible if organized in a table. For the sake of argument, we will use the calendar years of 312-308 B.C.:

Festival	Olympiad Year	Calendar Year
Olympia	1	July/August 312
Nemea	2	August/September 311
Hekatomboia/Heraia ⁶⁸¹	2	After Nemea, 311
Naa ⁶⁸²	2	October/November, 311
Isthmia	2	April/May 310
Panathenaia	3	July 310
Pythia	3	July/August 310
Nemea	4	August/September 309
Lykaia	4	Spring 308
Isthmia	4	April/May 308
Asklapieia ⁶⁸³	4	9 days after Isthmia, 308

Unfortunately, we only have two inscriptions with which to test our hypothesis.

This means that we cannot claim certainty on the matter, for the data in question is too limited to prove our historical interpretation beyond a reasonable doubt. Nevertheless, the

⁶⁸¹ Klee 1918, pp. 64-66.

⁶⁸² Golden 2004, p. 108 reports the idea that the Naa took place in the late summer or early autumn of the first Olympic year. The Naa are attested from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D. We are unsure about their status prior to the activity of Pyrrhos (around 290 B.C.). I include them in the calendar for the sake of Kallistratos' victory list.

⁶⁸³ Klee 1918, p. 59; Ringwood 1927, p. 70.

inscriptions do not refute the hypothesis, and in the case of Kallistratos' inscription the data go some way in confirming it.

The first text is the victory list of the familiar Argive wrestler Prateas. The text reads:

1	Πρατέας	Αἰσχύλου
2	πάλαν	Λύκαια
3	Ἰθμία	Νεμέαια
4	παρ' Ἡραι	Παναθάναια
5	Νεμέαια	Νεμέαια
6	ἐμ Μαινάλωι	Πύθια ἐν Δελφοῖς
7	Ἰθμία	

Because all victories are in the men's category, it is difficult to use this inscription to test the sequence we have reconstructed. We cannot be certain that each of these victories came in direct succession. Circularity ensues if we attempt to assign the victories to individual years. Following the model I have proposed, Prateas' career would have lasted for a minimum of just under 12 years. If we follow Klee, depending upon which of his two Lykaia festivals starts off the sequence, we get a minimum of either just under 11 years or just under nine years. The difference is not great enough to favor one model over the other, a fact that demonstrates how little fruit this kind of analysis often bears. Furthermore, Klee's dating of the Hekatomboia, while reasonable, is not beyond suspicion, meaning that any attempt at reconstruction may be futile.⁶⁸⁴ Furthermore, as I have demonstrated in the previous section, the assumption that the festival was trieteric at this time presents a serious problem. Note, however, that Prateas won at the Isthmia immediately after the Lykaia, which accords well with our reconstructed calendar.

⁶⁸⁴ Ringwood 1927, p. 67, n. 380.

Our other inscription – Kallistratos’ list – is more significant, for we are much better informed about when the victories that concern us had to be won. Only the victories in the boys’ category are of interest to us, for they seem to be listed chronologically:

Καλλίστρατος Φιλοθάλεος	
παῖδας· Βασίλεια πάλαν	Ἰσθμια ἀγενεῖους καὶ ἄνδρας πυ[γμᾶν]
Λύκαια παγκράτιον	τῶν αὐτῶν Ἰσθμιάδι
Ἰσθμια παγκράτιον	Νέμεα παγκράτιον
5 Παναθήναια πυγμᾶν	Νέμεα παγκράτιον
Νέμεα πυγμᾶν	Νέμεα πυγμᾶν καὶ παγκράτιον
Ἀσκληπίεια παγκράτιον	τῶν αὐτῶν Νεμεάδι
Νῆα πάλαν καὶ πυγμᾶν	Ἰσθμια πυγμᾶν
καὶ παγκράτιον	Πυθοῖ πυγμᾶν
10 Ῥίεια πάλαν καὶ πυγμᾶν	Λύκαια [πυ]γ[μᾶν] δῖς
καὶ παγκράτιον	[Ῥί]ε[ια πάλαν κ]αὶ πυγμᾶν καὶ [παγκράτιον]

We are not entirely clear about the ages at which an athlete could compete in the boys’ category. Crowther has demonstrated that at Olympia competitors between the ages of 12 and 17 were considered boys.⁶⁸⁵ Elsewhere there was a third category, the ἀγένεοι (‘beardless’), which probably included competitors aged 18 to 20. The boys’ categories at different festivals had their own criteria. We hear of Pythian and Isthmian boys, but it is not always easy to assign age limits to these categories. The Pythian boys are often given the range of 12 to 14, although, as Golden notes, it would be strange if the Pythia, which had no ἀγένεοι, so restricted the boys’ category.⁶⁸⁶ If anything one would expect the boys’ group to include all those from 12 to 20, given that the Isthmian categories were broken down into boys (12 to 16), ἀγένεοι (16 to 20), and adults (21 and up).⁶⁸⁷

Accordingly, we can allow a maximum range of 12 to 20 for the boys at Mt. Lykaion, for

⁶⁸⁵ Crowther 1988.

⁶⁸⁶ Golden 1998, pp. 105-106.

⁶⁸⁷ Miller 1990, p. 7.

we have no evidence for ἀγένοιοι, although we shall return to this problem in the next section.

For now, it is necessary to demonstrate – as far as we can – that our reconstruction of the festival calendar is not contradicted by Kallistratos' list. The Basileia were established at the command of Delphi in 371 B.C. after the Theban defeat of Sparta at Leuktra. The games were probably penteteric, meaning that we can determine the years in which they fell. Counting down from 371, we reach 309 B.C. as a festival year. This is highly significant for my reconstruction of the Lykaia in 308 B.C., because the beginning of Kallistratos' list has the Basileia followed by the Lykaia. The battle of Leuktra took place in late summer of 371 B.C., so that the festival must have been held in late summer or early fall. Thus, Kallistratos' victory at the Basileia was followed immediately by the victory at the Lykaia. This was the beginning of his career, so he was probably 12 years old.

According to my reconstruction, the Isthmia would follow the Lykaia after a very brief interval, which again accords well with Kallistratos' list. He had to wait two years for the victory at the Panathenaia, but he still would have been only 14 or 15 years old. The Nemean victory follows in August or September of the next year, when Kallistratos was 15 or 16. In the following spring comes the victory at Epidauros, when Kallistratos was 16 or 17. Thanks to the Antikythera Mechanism, we know that the penteteric Naa were held in the same year as the Nemea, in October or November.⁶⁸⁸ The three victories probably occurred at the same festival, for Kallistratos could not have competed as a boy

⁶⁸⁸ Hannah 2009, pp. 48-49. On October and November, see Quantin 2008, pp. 33-38. *SEG* 54 578 is a manumission decree that speaks of ἔτους δ' μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου τοῖς Νάοις. If the decree dates to 164 B.C., the first year of the cycle would be 167 B.C.

for twelve years. The Naa victories accordingly took place when Kallistratos was 17 or 18. We do not know when the Rhieia were held, but this inscription indicates that they should be placed around the time of the Naa. It would make sense if Kallistratos competed at the Rhieia immediately after the Naa, for the Rhieia were held at Rhion in Achaia,⁶⁸⁹ on the route back to the Peloponnese from northwestern Greece. The fact that he was an older boy at 17 or 18 makes sense of his sweeping victories at these two festivals, for his competitors could have been as young as 12.

The next entry has Kallistratos win at the Isthmia in both the ἀγένητοι and men's categories. This *agon* would have occurred in the spring that followed the Naa, less than a year after his three victories at Dodona. To compete as an ἀγένητος he had to be at least 16 and at most 20, which accords well with our estimate that he was 17 or 18 at the Naa. To win in the men's category we should expect him to have been among the older ἀγένητοι, and indeed he would have been 18 or 19 at the Isthmia. All in all, Kallistratos' career accords well with our reconstruction of the agonistic calendar.

In sum, historical and economic considerations can be used to support a springtime Lykaia, and the victory lists that offer chronological data point in the same direction. This is especially the case for Kallistratos of Sikyon. The Lykaia were held every four years, in April or May of the fourth Olympiad year.

⁶⁸⁹ Lafond 1998, p. 240. Mylonopoulos 2003, pp. 44-45, 310-311.

II: Events

Thanks to the two victory lists found by Kourouniotis on Mt. Lykaion,⁶⁹⁰ we can reconstruct the events featured at the Lykaia with a good degree of accuracy. This information can be supplemented by what we know of athletic events at other ancient Greek sanctuaries. Given the similarities that have been recognized between the programs at Olympia and Lykaion, I include data from the ancient Olympic Games to give the reader some idea of the program at Mt. Lykaion.

a. Equestrian Events⁶⁹¹

For the equestrian competitions, we have evidence for the two-horse chariot race (τελεία συνωρίς), the four-horse chariot race (τέλειος τέθριππον), the four-foal race (πωλικὸν τέθριππον), and the race on horseback (ἵππος κέλης).

At Olympia the *tethrippon* was added in 680 B.C. It probably consisted of 12 laps around the hippodrome, which gives a total of around 14 km. The *keles* was first run in 648 B.C. and clocked in at six *stadia* (around 1.2 km). The *synoris* was added in 408 B.C. and consisted of eight laps around the hippodrome (around 9.5 km). The events for foals were added in 384 (*tethrippon*), 264 (*synoris*), and 256 B.C. (*keles*). The administrators on Mt. Lykaion seem to have added only a *tethrippon* for foals. The overall measurements of the hippodrome at Mt. Lykaion are 260 m x 102 m, and further study of this facility – the only preserved example in Greece – will certainly enhance our understanding of equestrian events.⁶⁹²

⁶⁹⁰ I-MTL 4-5.

⁶⁹¹ On the equestrian events, see Miller 2004, pp. 75-82; Kyle 2015, pp. 121-123.

⁶⁹² Romano and Voyatzis 2015, pp. 245-258.

Equestrian competition was generally restricted to the wealthiest members of society. Clearly these events were important at Mt. Lykaion, for the Arcadians constructed the hippodrome to host them. This point is also indicated by the truncated victory list of 308 B.C., where only the four equestrian victors and the *dolichos* champion are enumerated. It is interesting, however, that the victory lists also show that all four equestrian competitions were not always held. Both lists on I-MTL 5 include all four events, but of the two complete lists on I-MTL 4, only the first lists victors in the four equestrian competitions, while the second (316 B.C.) has only the two-horse chariot race and the race on horseback. Given the difficult terrain of the mountain, perhaps it was not always possible to attract a sufficient number of competitors to hold all four events. Known equestrian victors came from Arcadia (*teleion tethrippon*, *polikon tethrippon*, *teleia synoris*), Sparta (*keles*), Elis (*polikon tethrippon*, *teleia synoris*), Argos (*keles*), Rhodes (*teleia synoris*), Macedon (Ptolemies: *teleion tethrippon*, *teleia synoris*), and Kassandreia (*teleion tethrippon*).

b. Gymnic Events

The Lykaian Games included all the major running events familiar from the four Panhellenic festivals.⁶⁹³ The *stadion*, said to have been the first event at Olympia, was run on Mt. Lykaion in the stadium, which was itself set within the hippodrome. Recent survey of the stadium has demonstrated that the length between the two starting lines would have been somewhat less than 145 m. The length of the seven preserved starting line blocks totals at 8.43 m, and some of the blocks have postholes, perhaps to distinguish

⁶⁹³ For summary of the ancient running events, see Miller 2004, pp. 31-46; Kyle 2015, pp. 115-117.

lanes and/or to accomodate a hysplex starting mechanism.⁶⁹⁴ The *stadion* race at Mt. Lykaion would thus have been a sprint of just under 145 m. There were races for both boys and men.⁶⁹⁵ As mentioned in the previous section, we do not know the parameters for these categories, but the safest assumption would put boys between 12-18 years of age, men over 18. Known victors in the *stadion* came from Arcadia, Argos, Macedon, and Messene.

Next we have the *diaulos* or double-*stadion* race, which at Lykaion would have been just under 290 m, or two lengths of the stadium. The *diaulos* was the first addition to the program at Olympia, traditionally dated to 724 B.C. At the Lykaian Games the *diaulos* was run only by men. Known victors in the *diaulos* at Mt. Lykaion came from Arcadia, Argos, Syracuse, and Epidauros. In 720 B.C. the organizers of the Olympics added the long-distance race, or *dolichos*. It is not clear how long this race was, as we learn from different sources that it was either 20 or 24 laps of the stadium. The standard modern estimate gives a range of 7.5-9 km. It was probably part of the program at Mt. Lykaion from an early date, and only men competed. Known victors came from Arcadia (including Tegea), Argos, and Messene.

The final running race was the *hoplites* or *hoplitodromos*, the race in armor.⁶⁹⁶ At Olympia it consisted of two *stadia*, and the runners were required to wear helmets and carry shields. Originally greaves were also mandatory, although these were eventually removed from the panoply. The first running of the *hoplites* at Olympia occurred in 520

⁶⁹⁴ On the stadium at Mt. Lykaion, see Romano and Voyatzis 2015, pp. 246-248. For stadia in the Peloponnese, see Romano 1981; for the origins of the *stadion*, see Romano 1993.

⁶⁹⁵ The boys' *stadion* at Olympia is said to have first run in 632 B.C.; Kyle 2015, p. 116, tab. 6.1.

⁶⁹⁶ In the inscriptions from Mt. Lykaion the form ὁπλίτας is used.

B.C. Known victors at Lykaion hailed from Arcadia, Argos, Epidauros, Syracuse, and Akarnania, and, once again, the race was restricted to men.

We also have evidence for the pentathlon at Mt. Lykaion.⁶⁹⁷ The pentathlon was a series of five contests that tested the meddle of athletes in a range of disciplines. We do not know how the winner was chosen, although it seems that a minimum of three victories was required. The pentathlon joined the program at Olympia in 708 B.C., and the five contests included the *stadion* race, discus throw, long jump (*halma*), javelin throw (*akon*), and wrestling (*pale*). In the Olympics, each competitor was given three throws of the discus, and he then proceeded to mark his longest throw. Similarly, he marked the best of five throws of the javelin. The athlete held two weights or *halteres* when performing the long jump, which was held in a temporary trench (*skamma*) dug for the occasion. At Mt. Lykaion the pentathlon was restricted to men, and known victors were from Arcadia, Argos, and Sparta. Sometime before 464 B.C., the famous Corinthian pentathlete Xenophon, son of Thessalos, competed at the Lykaia, although it is unclear whether he won the *stadion* or the pentathlon. Pindar wrote his thirteenth *Olympian Ode* for this man.

Moving on to the heavy events,⁶⁹⁸ first of all we have *pale* or wrestling, which was added to the program at Olympia in 708 B.C. The two athletes started in a standing position, and the goal was to throw your opponent to the ground. The victor won at least three out of five matches or forced a submission. At Lykaion we have evidence for both men's and boys' wrestling, and at Olympia the boys first wrestled in 632 B.C. Victors in

⁶⁹⁷ On the pentathlon, see Miller 2004, pp. 60-74; Kyle 2015, pp. 117-119.

⁶⁹⁸ For the heavy events, see Miller 2004, pp. 46-60; Kyle 2015, pp. 119-121. For a more detailed study, see Poliakoff 1987.

the Lykaia hailed from Arcadia, Argos, Sparta, Messene, Athens, and Opous. Our earliest named victors, Thrasyklos and Antias of Argos (known from Pindar's tenth *Nemean Ode*), wrestled in the late sixth century B.C. Sometime prior to 444 B.C., their nephew won at Lykaion, and sometime prior to 466 B.C., Epharmostos of Opous, for whom Pindar wrote his ninth *Olympian Ode*, triumphed at the Lykaian Games.

Second comes *pux* or *pugme* (boxing),⁶⁹⁹ introduced at Olympia for men in 688 B.C., and for boys in 616 B.C. At Mt. Lykaion we likewise have evidence for both age categories. There were no weight classes or rounds, and the fighters wrapped their hands with ox-hide leather straps called *himantes meilichai* ('soft thongs'). In the fourth century B.C., a new kind of glove, the sharp thongs (*himantes oxeis*), made punches even more brutal. Boxers fought in an area defined by the 'ladder' (*klimax*) until one was knocked out or indicated submission by holding up an index finger. At Lykaion, known victors were from Arcadia, Elis, and Sikyon. Sometime before 464 B.C., the famous pugilist Diagoras of Rhodes won at the Lykaian Games, and we have already seen that his son Dorieus won three times later in the same century. Unfortunately, we do not know if they won in boxing or *pankration*.

Pankration, the 'all-powerful' event, combined boxing and wrestling in a no holds barred fight. It was introduced for men at Olympia in 648 B.C., but it was not until 200 B.C. that the boys were allowed to compete. These matches permitted punching, kicking, groin shots, choking, and finger bending. As in boxing, the match continued until a knock out or submission. At Lykaion, men probably competed in the *pankration*

⁶⁹⁹ *Pugmachia* is also known. At Lykaion, we find both *πυγμά* and *πυγμή*.

from the earliest times,⁷⁰⁰ and sometime before the career of Kallistratos of Sikyon a boys' category was established. This athlete competed around the third quarter of the third century B.C. Accordingly, innovation in this event occurred earlier at Lykaion than at Olympia, but it had already become a feature at Delphi in 346 B.C. Known victors at the Lykaian Games came from Arcadia, Argos, Messene, Sikyon, Athens, Miletos, and perhaps Nauplion.

Opponents in wrestling, boxing, and *pankration* were matched by choosing lots (*kleroi*). When there was an odd number of competitors, one lucky individual drew a bye and was called the *ephedros*. As in the pentathlon, wrestling, boxing, and *pankration* took place in the *skamma*, which was probably dug in the stadium.

We thus know a fair amount about the athletes who competed at Mt. Lykaion,⁷⁰¹ and the data enable us to identify several historical patterns with regard to their origins.

The data will once again be most accessible if organized in a table:

	6 th c. B.C.	5 th c.	4 th c.	3 rd c.	2 nd c.	1 st c.
<i>Arcadia</i>			18	1		
<i>Argos</i>	2	1	13	1		
<i>Epidauros</i>					1	
<i>Nauplion</i>						
<i>Corinth</i>	> 1	1				
<i>Sikyon</i>				1		
<i>Sparta</i>			4			
<i>Messene</i>				1	3	1

⁷⁰⁰ Cf. the records of Diagoras and Dorieus.

⁷⁰¹ See Appendix III.

<i>Elis</i>			3			
<i>Athens</i>			1		1	
<i>Locris</i>		1				
<i>Akarnania</i>			1			
<i>Macedonia</i>			4			
<i>Rhodes</i>		2	1		1	
<i>Miletos</i>			1			
<i>Syracuse</i>			1			

For the earliest period we have only Pindar, who singles out *Lykaionikai* from Corinth, Argos, Locris, and Rhodes. By the fifth century B.C., the Lykaia could already attract competitors from outside the Peloponnese. Of particular historical interest is the fact that Macedonians first appear at the end of the fourth century B.C., as we should expect from the course of history after Philip II and, especially, Alexander the Great. Participation by Messenian athletes begins in the third century B.C. and increases in the second, a situation that squares with the historical circumstances of this time. We have seen that Polybius stressed the historical relationship between Messenians and Arcadians when he urged the two peoples to work together (4.32-33; Chapter 3, II, d), and two border treaties from this same era imply that the frontier between Megalopolis and Messene was becoming blurred and needed clarification.⁷⁰² The two poleis were dealing

⁷⁰² Indeed, a bit earlier (around 240 B.C.) the Aetolian League had even arranged for isopolity between Messene and nearby Phigaleia; Ager 1996, no. 40. The treaty between Megalopolis and Messene recently discovered by Themelis dates to 179/8-176/5 B.C.; see Pikoulas 2010-2013, with a partial text and bibliography at pp. 284-286. The Messenians were involved in the treaty between Megalopolis and Thouria that dates from 182-167 B.C.; I-MTL 54. Perhaps the most notorious conflict between Messenians and Arcadians came in 182 B.C., when a series of events led to the poisoning of Philopoimen at Messene; Plut. *Phil.* 18-21.

with one another as both friends and rivals, and it makes sense that we see the same trend on the level of agonistic competition.

c. Other Events

An inscription documenting the career of the herald Zenobios in the first century B.C. adds another event to the program at Mt. Lykaion, the *keryx* or herald competition (I-MTL 30).⁷⁰³ Zenobios is the only known victor, and it is puzzling that the victory lists from Lykaion do not include heralds. At Olympia the event had been instituted in 396 B.C., along with the *salpinx* or trumpet contest. We have no evidence for the latter at Mt. Lykaion, but the two worked together at Olympia, with the trumpeter calling the audience to attention before the herald announced the names of the athletes as they entered competition or the names of champions as they took their victory laps. Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that both were featured at Lykaion as well. At Olympia a platform was set up near the stadium entrance for the heralds to compete on, and, since the winner was given the task of all further announcements, the *keryx* and *salpinx* went first. While the evidence is admittedly lacking, it is fair to guess that these events were first introduced around 370 B.C., at which time the Arcadian League began construction in the Lower Sanctuary.

As far as we can tell, there were never musical competitions at the Lykaian Games.

d. The Lykaia Festival in Action

Our only evidence for the duration of the Lykaian Games is Xenias' *agon* at Peltai, which lasted for three days, but I have already argued that this event was not

⁷⁰³ On heralds and trumpeters, see Crowther 1994; Miller 2004, pp. 84-85.

meant to represent the Lykaian Games. Nevertheless, since a Parrhasian was organizing the contests, it would make sense if he followed the model he knew best, the Lykaia. On the other hand, the Olympic Games lasted for five days, but only three days featured equestrian and athletic contests. We can imagine a similar situation at the Lykaia, given the similarity in events and age categories.⁷⁰⁴ Accordingly, the minimum can be safely set at three days, the maximum at five, but certainty eludes us.

We can look to the lists on I-MTL 4-5 for patterns in the ordering of events, but unfortunately these texts exhibit no standard way of listing victors. List I (320 B.C.) begins with equestrian victories, moves on to the boys' running event, then to boys' combat events, and finishes by listing men's running and combat events, with the *hoplites* listed last. List II (316 B.C.), the only list which is internally consistent in its grammar and syntax, begins with the men's *dolichos*, then proceeds to the boys' *stadion* and the men's *stadion*. From here, List II continues through the men's *diaulos*, pentathlon, and *hoplites* before switching to the heavy events. Boys' wrestling is followed by the men's, then boxing in the same order, and finally the *pankration*. The equestrian events are placed at the end of the list. List III (312 B.C.) is highly fragmentary but begins with the men's *dolichos*, then proceeds to the boys' and men's *stadion*. Here we can plausibly assume that equestrian events were again listed at the end. List V⁷⁰⁵ (308 B.C.) is most curious because it records four equestrian events and then ends with the men's *dolichos*. Finally, List VI (304 B.C.) organizes its entries beginning with the boys' *stadion* and proceeds through the men's running events (including the pentathlon). It then records

⁷⁰⁴ There were no *ageneioi* at either festival.

⁷⁰⁵ List IV is that of the officials of the Arcadian League; see Chapter 3, III, b-c.

both of the boys' combat events and follows these with the men's combat events. Last again are the equestrian victors.

As if all of this variation were not troubling enough, we have the added problem that only Lists I and VI record the full range of events. List II excludes two equestrian events; List III is too fragmentary to comment upon; and List V has all four equestrian events but only one gymnastic event.

Nevertheless, Lists II and VI, which exhibit a degree of standardization, may provide us with some indication of how things went. In List II the running events (including the pentathlon) come first, with the *stadion* preceding the *diaulos*. Then we have the pentathlon, followed by the *hoplites*. According to List VI, the events were ordered *stadion*, *pentathlon*, *dolichos*, *diaulos*.

Proceeding from here to the heavy events, we have wrestling, boxing, and then *pankration*. The *hoplites* is the final gymnastic contest listed, following the *pankration*. In both the running and heavy events, boy victors are listed before the men if the distinction existed.

For the equestrian events, Lists V and VI agree on the following order: two-horse chariot race, four-foal chariot race, race on horseback, four-horse chariot race. List I is almost the same, but the ordering of the race on horseback and the four-horse chariot race is swapped. List II has the two-horse chariot race followed by the race on horseback. Accordingly, we can suppose that the two-horse chariot race came first and was followed by the four-foal race. Then followed the race on horseback and the four-horse chariot race, although we cannot be sure about which came first.

Comparing this data with what we know of Olympia, it becomes apparent that the Lykaian Lists are only partially ordered according to the actual program of events. At Olympia the equestrian events came on the first day of competition and were followed by the pentathlon. The next day featured the boys' events, and the program of men's gymnastic events on the third day is quite well known. The *dolichos* was run first, followed by the *stadion* and *diaulos*. Then came wrestling, boxing, and *pankration*. The *hoplites* was the final event.

Using the Lykaian Lists and the program at Olympia as a guide, we can reconstruct the order of events over the course of three days as follows. Lists I and V have the equestrian events first, and this probably reflects the reality of the first day's program. The boys events followed on the second day, which was also the occasion for the sacrificial feast. The order would have proceeded from the *stadion* to wrestling, boxing, and, after its addition, *pankration*. The third day saw the men's gymnastic events, which as at Olympia may also have begun with the *dolichos*, as all the lists indicate (List VI accidentally begins with the *dolichos* before switching to the boys' *stadion*). After the *dolichos*, the *stadion* and *diaulos* were contested. The heavy events seem to have followed the same order as Olympia, with wrestling followed by boxing and *pankration*. Lists I and VI have the *hoplites* last, just as was the case at Olympia.

The data from Mt. Lykaion do not allow for definite conclusions. It is nevertheless interesting that the ordering of the gymnastic events on List II generally follows the Olympic program, with the *dolichos* followed by the *stadion*, *diaulos*, wrestling, boxing, and *pankration*. Similar is List VI, except that the *stadion* comes

before the *dolichos*. Finally, List I finishes the program with the *hoplites* (as does List VI, but it is followed by the equestrian events), as was the case at Olympia. We can thus safely say that the program at Mt. Lykaion was generally close to that of Olympia. It is interesting that the pentathlon appears with the heavy events on List I but with the running events on Lists II and VI; this may be due to the fact that it was held separately on the first day, as was the case in the Olympic Games.

As at Olympia, the day before the equestrian events was probably dedicated to registration and assessment by the judges. This day would also have seen the herald contest (and *salpinx*?). The fifth and final day at Olympia was reserved for crowning the victors, and we may hazard the guess that the same situation prevailed on Mt. Lykaion.

III: Prizes

For the prizes awarded to *Lykaionikai*, we have two categories of information. Ancient literary sources (and ancient scholarship on these texts) speak of a bronze prize at the Lykaia. Secondly, epigraphical texts imply that a crown of oak foliage was awarded to the victors.

Pindar mentions bronze (χαλκόν)⁷⁰⁶ and artworks (τὰ ἔργα)⁷⁰⁷ in connection with Mt. Lykaion, and a scholiast tells us that bronze was the prize at Mt. Lykaion.⁷⁰⁸ On the

⁷⁰⁶ Pin. *Nem.* 10.45-48: ἀλλὰ χαλκὸν μυρίον οὐ δυνατόν / ἐξελέγγειν – μακροτέρας γὰρ ἀριθμήσαι σχολᾶς – / ὅν τε Κλείτωρ καὶ Τεγέα καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ὑψίβατοι πόλιες / καὶ Λύκαιον παρ Διὸς θῆκε δρόμῳ σὺν ποδῶν χειρῶν τε νικᾶσαι σθένει.

⁷⁰⁷ Pin. *Ol.* 7.83-84 is less clearly linked with Mt. Lykaion: ὅ τ' ἐν Ἀργεὶ χαλκὸς ἔγνω νιν, τὰ τ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ / ἔργα καὶ Θήβαις, but the scholiast takes it as a reference to the Lykaia.

⁷⁰⁸ Schol. Pin. *Ol.* 7.153b-d: τὰ τ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ: ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τὸ ἔγνω νιν· ἐγνώρισε δὲ αὐτὸν νικῶντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἄθλα. τελεῖται δὲ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τὰ Λύκαια ἀνακείμενα τῷ Λυκαίῳ Διί. c. τὰ δὲ ἔργα τινὲς οὕτως ἀκούουσιν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ αὐτόθι νικῶντες σκεύεσι τιμῶνται. d. ἄλλως· Πολέμων ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Θήβησιν Ἡρακλείων φησὶ χαλκὸν τὸ ἄθλον εἶναι τοῖς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ Λυκαίοις· ὥστε ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τὰ ἔργα καὶ

authority of the scholar Polemon (second century B.C.), the same scholiast goes on to say that bronze tripods were given to *Lykaionikai*. This dovetails nicely with the archaeology of the Ash Altar, where people dedicated miniature bronze tripods as votive offerings, although this practice is of course not restricted to Mt. Lykaion. At the Hekatomboia the prizes were also bronze, but the shape of the vessel varied.⁷⁰⁹ It could be that the same situation prevailed on Mt. Lykaion, but taken together the archaeology and Polemon's statement indicate that bronze tripods were awarded to victors.

We have seen that I-MTL 23 (third quarter of the fourth century B.C.), a verse inscription recording the Argive Kleainetos' triumphs, calls the Lykaia δρυοστεφάνοις, 'oak-crowned.' A Charneux saw, the epithet implies that, by the late fourth or early third century B.C., *Lykaionikai* were presented with crowns of oak foliage.⁷¹⁰ Similarly, the entry for the Lykaia on I-MTL 29, the Delian catalogue of the Athenian Menodoros' victories, is surrounded by an oak crown. Finally, I-MTL 30, the text documenting the crowns won by the herald Zenobios in the first century B.C., can be restored in the following manner:

καὶ ἐκ φηγοῖο Λυκαιο[ν / καὶ στέφανον] δρυμῶν ἄγαγον Ἀρκαδίας

And from the oak of Lykaion in Arcadia I also led off the crown made from the oak groves.⁷¹¹

τὸν χαλκὸν ληπτέον, ὅταν φησὶν ὁ Πίνδαρος· ὃ τ' ἐν Ἀργεὶ χαλκὸς ἔγνω νιν τά τε ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἔργα καὶ Θήβαις. δίδεται γὰρ ἐν ταύταις τρίπους χαλκοῦς.

⁷⁰⁹ Amandry 1980, pp. 211-217.

⁷¹⁰ Charneux 1985, pp. 364-368.

⁷¹¹ The restoration is my own. See Appendix 2, I-MTL 30 for details.

Here we see the juxtaposition of a single oak (φηγοῖο) and sacred groves from which the crowns were made (δρυμῶν). These three inscriptions thus document the prize of an oak crown and suggest the presence of a sacred oak grove on Mt. Lykaion.⁷¹²

A sacred oak grove and an oak foliage crown for victors accord well with the myths of Mt. Lykaion that we examined in previous chapters. The reader will remember that Pausanias (8.1.5-6) informs us how Pelasgos taught the people of Lykaion to eat oak acorns, an idea that goes back to Archaic times at the latest (Hdt. 1.66). During periods of drought, the priest of Zeus Lykaios dipped an oak branch into the Hagno Fountain and stirred the water (Paus. 8.38.4). The Hagno is located along the thrust fault between the two sanctuaries, just where we should expect to find oak trees. Finally, we have seen that Lykaon had a daughter named Dia, who nursed her child Dryops ('Oak-face') in the trunk of an oak tree.

To summarize, from at least the time of Pindar bronze prizes – most probably tripods – were given to *Lykaionikai*. At some point prior to the third quarter of the fourth century B.C., crowns of oak foliage were awarded to victors. Both traditions probably extend back to the earliest days of the games.

IV: Organizing the Lykaia

We first hear of an organizer of the Lykaia by name only in the late second century A.D., when we learn of the agonothete Marcus Tadius Spedianus (I-MTL 48). We know from an inscribed roof tile found in the Lower Sanctuary, however, that the

⁷¹² I thank Prof. D.G. Romano, M. Davidson, and P. Playdon for discussing this matter with me.

office of agonothele is more ancient (I-MTL 9, 9). Unfortunately, the tile in question is lost and was never assigned a date.

a. Political Bodies in Control of the Sanctuary

The Games were probably organized by the Parrhasians prior to the foundation of the Arcadian League. If Roy is correct that the *Arkadikon* coinage was issued by the Parrhasians, this would offer some indirect support for the idea.⁷¹³ There is less evidence for the proposal that there was an amphiktion that included states outside of Parrhasia, as Nielsen has argued.⁷¹⁴ Head's idea that Heraia held the presidency of the Games is groundless and should be discarded.⁷¹⁵

In the previous chapter (3, II, c-III, c), I argued that from 371 through at least the end of the fourth century B.C. the sanctuary and festival were administered by the Arcadian League. The more common argument, which attributes this duty to Megalopolis, needs to be reconsidered. On the one hand, the notion that Megalopolis controlled the sanctuary is in a certain sense tantamount to saying that the League controlled it, for Megalopolis was a polis newly formed from a diverse group of communities recently joined to the League. On the other hand, it is hard to imagine how a polis that was itself still being constructed could have built the Lower Sanctuary, which, as we have demonstrated on archaeological and epigraphical grounds, occurred in the earliest years of the League's existence. The rhetoric of Lykomedes of Mantinea, moreover, clearly drew on the traditions of the Lykaion sanctuary, and it would be strange if the League were not responsible for the most important Arcadian religious site.

⁷¹³ Roy 2013b.

⁷¹⁴ Nielsen 2002, pp. 145-152.

⁷¹⁵ Head 1911, pp. 447-448.

The two documents from Mt. Lykaion that I have argued emanated from the League date to the 360s and 308 B.C., and they thus provide us with a period of around 60 years during which we can identify the League's interest in the sanctuary. Admittedly, after the split in 362 B.C., Megalopolis was probably de facto controller of Mt. Lykaion, since she was the most important southwestern member state in the Megalopolitan-Tegean led League. However, I suggest that it was not until the middle of the third century B.C., when the tyrants Aristodemos and Lydiades took over Megalopolis, that the sanctuary officially came under the control of Megalopolis.⁷¹⁶ With the entrance of Megalopolis into the Achaean League in 235 B.C., this state of affairs became permanent, and the festival was moved to Megalopolis at the end of the century.

b. Local Administration of the Sanctuary

Who were the officials directly in charge of Mt. Lykaion? We know of priests of Zeus and Pan, who seem to have shared the duty of eponymously dating the Lykaian Games. Additionally, the priest who gave his name to the year may have also presided over the Games. A decree of Cyrene from the second half of the fourth century B.C. mentions a man named Charon the Lamé on Mt. Lykaion, and in the preamble it is ordered that the decree be placed in the charge of a group of officials and set up on Mt. Lykaion (I-MTL 51). *Hieromnamones* have been restored and would fit the lacuna, but we cannot be certain that this was their designation. The *damiorgoi* and other officials listed on I-MTL 5 belonged to the Arcadian League, and it is therefore possible that they had a hand in organizing the festival. If, as Romano and Voyatzis have suggested, the

⁷¹⁶ See Chapter 3, IV.

Administrative Building has an analogue in the prytaneion at Olympia, perhaps the League officials met here on the occasion of the festival.⁷¹⁷

V: The Lykaia among Greek Agonistic Festivals

a. The Contribution of Pindar

Pindar could manipulate the hierarchy of festivals for rhetorical purposes. For example, at one point he speaks of local games for Adrastus at Sikyon as if they were the Olympics, and when the subject of a poem won at Delphi, the Pythia can stand in for the height of human joy.⁷¹⁸ Indeed, Pindar mentions a whole range of contests in his songs of praise, and it would be difficult to argue that all were considered near equals of the four crown competitions.

Morgan therefore maintains that Pindar's references to the Lykaia do not imply that the Arcadian festival was thought to be on a level with the Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia, and Nemea. By Pindar's day the circuit of agonistic festivals had been well established, and this means that athletes – who by the nature of their occupation were very mobile – would have competed at any given site on their chosen agonistic route.⁷¹⁹ What's more, the Lykaia are not the only Arcadian games mentioned by Pindar, and Morgan thus suggests that they were not nearly so significant as earlier scholars have thought – at least not before around 500 B.C.

Morgan makes some solid points, and I largely agree with her conclusion that we cannot use Pindar to claim a special role for the Lykaia among late Archaic and early

⁷¹⁷ For the preliminary interpretation of the building, see Romano and Voyatzis 2015, pp. 210-217.

⁷¹⁸ Golden 1998, pp. 80-81.

⁷¹⁹ Morgan 1999, pp. 407-408.

Classical Greek agonistic festivals. And while it is true that Pindar knows of other games in Arcadia, one passage in particular does seem to indicate that he acknowledged the leading role of the Lykaion sanctuary and festival (*Ol.* 13.108-109):

ὅσα τ' Ἀρκάσιν ἀνάσσων
μαρτυρήσει Λυκαίου βομὸς ἄναξ

And as many victories for which the lord-altar of Lykaios,
which rules over the Arcadians, shall bear witness.

Here Mt. Lykaion is clearly considered to be a pan-Arcadian site. Accordingly, I suggest that by Pindar's day (at the very latest), an outsider looking into Arcadia recognized the importance that the Lykaion sanctuary had for the Arcadian *ethnos*. The ode for Xenophon of Corinth was written in 464 B.C., but the Lykaian altar is called to witness victories of his ancestors, who triumphed in the previous century.

Pindar thus knows that Mt. Lykaion played a special role in the religious system of Arcadia, and he pushes that role back into the sixth century B.C. This accords well with our analysis of the sanctuary's rise to prominence in the course of the Archaic period.⁷²⁰ But what of the Lykaia's place among other Greek agonistic festivals? If we cannot push Pindar any further, all we have left is the epigraphical data.

b. Epigraphical Evidence

By far the most important inscription for assessing the status of the Lykaia is the victory monument of Dorieus of Rhodes.⁷²¹ As was discussed above, Dorieus' nephew set this monument up at Delphi in the second quarter of the fourth century B.C., but the victories in its catalogue occurred in the later fifth century B.C. I have already suggested

⁷²⁰ See above, Chapter 3, II, b-c.

⁷²¹ See above, Chapter 4, I, b.

that the catalogue is not complete but rather presents a selection of the most important and prestigious victories that Dorieus won. That this is the case is made clear by the prominence of the four crown competitions, which are listed first. We then have the Panathenaia, another prestigious set of games, followed by the Asklapieia of Epidauros,⁷²² the Hekatomboia of Argos, and finally the Lykaia. We can conclude that these eight festivals were the most prominent not only in Dorieus' day but also during the time when his nephew set the monument up at Delphi. The victories obtained at the festivals on Dorieus' statue base demonstrated that he had been the greatest of champions, and his family, which included yet another generation of athletes, considered it worthwhile to advertise this fact at both Olympia and Delphi.⁷²³

Dorieus' monument accords well with Pindar's opinion of the Lykaian altar of Zeus. It also makes sense of the Arcadian League's choice to monumentalize the Lower Sanctuary during the 360s B.C., around the same time that Dorieus' monument was set up. Two more fourth century B.C. victory monuments list triumphs at the Lykaia alongside wins at the Pythia, Nemea, the Aspis of Argos, and the Asklapieia (I-MTL 23), and at the Isthmia, Nemea, Hekatomboia, Pythia, and Mainalia (I-MTL 24). I-MTL 4 and 5 from Mt. Lykaion indicate that the festival attracted competitors from all over the Greek *oikoumenē*. The victory monument of Nikagoras of Rhodes, who we know won at the Lykaia in 304 B.C., records his Lykaian victory next to wins at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, Nemea, Athens, the Hekatomboia, and the Pythia in Sikyon. Accordingly, we

⁷²² On this festival, see Miller 2004, pp. 129-132.

⁷²³ On the monument set up at Delphi, see Chapter 4, I, b.

can conclude that throughout the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the Lykaia were considered to be among the most prestigious of Greek agonistic festivals.

The same pattern continues into the Hellenistic period. In the third century B.C., Kallistratos' monument is reserved for victories at the crown games and the next most prestigious festivals: the Lykaia, Naa, and Asklapieia. The inclusion of the otherwise obscure Rhieia is probably due to the fact that he won three events there in a single day. Damatrios of Tegea likewise listed crown victories along with those at the Hekatomboia, Asklapieia, and Lykaia. He further included Tegea's own Aleaia and the Basileia of Lebadeia, a festival that marked the end of Spartan hegemony and the beginning of Arcadia's rise to prominence. In the second and first centuries B.C., lists often include more victories, and the Lykaia are frequently found alongside prestigious ancient festivals and popular new ones (I-MTL 28-37). The herald Zenobios considered his first century B.C. Lykaian victory worthy of a place in his commemorative epigram, where we find it listed along with the Pythia, Olympia, Panathenaia, Eleusinia, the Eleutheria of Plateia, the Trophonia of Lebadeia, and the Herakleia of Thebes.

VI: The Lykaia in Greek Agonistic Culture

Accordingly, the Lykaian Games remained popular from the fifth century B.C. to the first. They were never considered equal to the four crown competitions, but all the data we possess indicate that they approached the status of these games. But were they Panhellenic? The answer will depend upon what we mean when we say 'Panhellenic.' If we mean that they were of a rank with the four Panhellenic *agones*, then we have already seen that the answer must be no. However, if we mean that they were widely frequented

by Greeks from all over the *oikoumenē*, were held in the highest regard, and excited the imagination of the Hellenic world, then the answer will be an unqualified yes. Indeed, it is no accident that we first hear of lycanthropy and human sacrifice in the Classical era, in Plato's *Republic* (565d; cf. also the pseudo-Platonic *Minos* 315c).

As we did with the agonistic data, we can trace this general interest in the Lykaia through time. In 264/3 B.C., the *Marmor Parium*, a chronographic document that lists major historical events, declared the Lykaia to be older than the crown games, but they were still considered younger than the Panathenaia. It is interesting that the chronicle omits the Olympia entirely; Jacoby maintains that this was done on purpose.⁷²⁴ The primacy of the Panathenaia is due to the fact that the author was ultimately relying on an *Atthis* for his information.⁷²⁵ That this was the case is indicated by the association of the Lykaia with the *agon* at Eleusis, for the chronicler dates the foundations of both to the same year (I-MTL 55)⁷²⁶:

30b ἀφ' οὗ [ἐ]ν Ἐλευσίνι ὁ γυμνικὸς [ἀγὼν**] ΑΦΟΥ
 31 ΑΙ . . τὰ Λύκαια ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἐγένετο καὶ Λ . . ΚΚΕ
 Λυκάονος ἐδόθησαν . . τοῖς Ἑλλ[η]σι[ν] ἔτ]η . . Ν . . βασιλεύον-
 32a τοῖς Ἀθηναίων Πανδίωνος τοῦ Κέκροπος.

From the time when the gymnic *agon* in Eleusis *aphou*. . . .
 . . . ΑΙ . the Lykaia in Arcadia began and L. ΚΚΕ. . . . of Lykaon were
 given . . to the Greeks when Pandion,
 son of Kekrops, had been ruling over Athens for *x* number of years.

Hiller von Gaertringen suggested that the lacunae in line 31 may have recorded the prize for *Lykaionikai*, but Jacoby is suspicious of the idea, suggesting instead that an invention

⁷²⁴ *FGrH* IID, p. 676.

⁷²⁵ *FGrH* IID, p. 674.

⁷²⁶ I follow the text of Jacoby 1904, p. 8.

of Lykaon was recorded.⁷²⁷ In any case, the document makes it clear that there were Greeks in the middle of the third century B.C. who believed that the Lykaia were exceptionally ancient. Such a belief implies that the Lykaia continued to hold prestige at this time, a fact already indicated by the contemporary victory lists.

Scholarly interest in the Lykaia continued with the advent of the Romans in Greece. By the third century B.C. the Lykaia came to be connected with the Roman festival of the Lupercalia, and this identification opened up a whole new line of research for interested Greeks and Romans. We shall examine these traditions in the next chapter.

⁷²⁷ Hiller von Gaertringen at *IG* XII, 5.444; Jacoby 1904, p. 80, cites Mueller's restoration of ἐκεχειρία, itself based on Tzetzes commentary on Lycophron (481) that the truce (ἐκεχειρία) was first devised in Arcadia. The lacuna prior to τὰ Λύκαια, on the other hand, must have recorded information connected with the Eleusinia, so it need not concern us here; Jacoby 1904, pp. 78-79; *FGrH* IID, p. 678.

CHAPTER 5: MT. LYKAION BETWEEN ROME AND ARCADIA

Most of our knowledge about the earliest history of Rome derives from sources of the Augustan era (31 BC-AD 14). During this time, early Rome was a concern for authors writing in both Greek and Latin, and the genres that dealt with the theme included epic and lyric poetry, historiography, and antiquarian writing. Augustus himself was keenly interested in Roman antiquities – especially ancient cults – and this matter has been thoroughly studied by scholars.⁷²⁸ Along with Augustus came the institution of cults in his honor, or in his honor and in Rome's, or in honor of him and his family members. Such cults endured well into period of the Roman Empire, but they never had so much impetus and emphasis on the person of an individual emperor as in this early, formative period.⁷²⁹

It is accordingly of interest for the history of religion in southwestern Arcadia that two inscriptions document the existence of a twin festival, the Λύκαια Καισάρεια or Λύκαια καὶ Καισάρεια (both forms are known, the former in the Augustan age⁷³⁰), from the first and second centuries A.D. (I-MTL 46, 49).⁷³¹ The earlier inscription (I-MTL 46) is an honorary decree for Xenarchos, son of Onasikrates, who repaired the temple of Despoina at Lykosoura, built the temple for the imperial cult, and served as high priest of this cult for life. The text can be dated to the years around A.D. 1/2, for Gossage has

⁷²⁸ Beard, North, and Price 1998, vol. 1, pp. 182-210, who also point out the changes that Augustus instituted, often times under the guise of 'restoration.'

⁷²⁹ Price 1984, pp. 57-58.

⁷³⁰ I am not so sure that we should supplement <καὶ> in the text of the earlier inscription, as other editors have done. For details, see Appendix 2, I-MTL 46.

⁷³¹ From this point on, I use the form Lykaia-Kaisareia for the sake of consistency.

convincingly assigned the associated honorary decree for Xenarchos' sister and brother-in-law to this year (*IG V*, 2.516).⁷³²

All of this is important for the present inquiry, for it is clear that a claim to Arcadian origins was important for the Romans at different points in their history. This claim acquired greater significance with their increased presence in the Greek east after the Second Punic War. The most familiar myth is that of Evander's Arcadian settlement on the Palatine. Evander had come from Pallantion in southern Arcadia and founded a cult in the Lupercal cave and the associated festival of the Lupercalia, both in honor of Pan Lykaeos. In this sense, the cult of the Lupercal was interpreted as a calque on the cult of Mt. Lykaion.

These myths, however, were not birthed through the political exigencies of the second century B.C. Several centuries earlier, the Classical Greeks found the stories useful when attempting to fit different Italic groups into their heroic genealogies.⁷³³ Many modern studies have attempted to discover the origins of these traditions, but the only agreed-upon fact is that homonymy in place and cultic names contributed to their elaboration.⁷³⁴ Some have even argued that cults were transferred from Arcadia to Rome. In a recent article, Madeleine Jost has demonstrated that this idea is problematic, and the

⁷³² Gossage 1954. See below, Chapter 5, III.

⁷³³ Wiseman 2004, pp. 13-36.

⁷³⁴ Scheer 2011 stresses the contribution of place names (e.g., the tradition that Amunclae between Circeii and Caieta was founded by the Dioskouroi and named after Amyklai in Laconia; Wiseman 2004, p. 23). For a recent discussion, see Hall 2005.

more interesting and accessible line of inquiry seeks to interpret the circumstances in which these traditions were adapted and activated.⁷³⁵

In other words, the stories did not remain static, but rather developed over time through the agency of both Greeks and Romans, and both Greeks and Romans were able to benefit from them. In the present chapter, we shall discuss the potential use that Arcadian Rome offered to the residents of Megalopolis in the earliest years of the Roman Empire. In particular, I suggest that the establishment of the Lykaia-Kaisareia should be interpreted not only with reference to the imperial cult, but also with reference to contemporary history and the traditions of Arcadian Rome. Here the purported link between the Lykaion cult and the Lupercalia has particular significance.

I: Background and Origins

In the late first century B.C., Dionysius of Halicarnassus undertook the task of writing the history of Rome for his fellow Greeks.⁷³⁶ For Dionysius, a series of early migrations from Greece set the stage for the rise of Rome and her empire.⁷³⁷ The first of these migrants were Arcadians under Oionotros, son of the Lykaon,⁷³⁸ and some generations later Evander brought another group of Arcadians whom he settled on the

⁷³⁵ Jost 2012, where the reader will find a summary of recent arguments in favor of cult transfers. Cf. the remarks of Scheer 2011, p. 15: “the specific background against which such tales arise, namely the updatability, adaptability, and thereby liveliness of the myth, can be reconstructed.”

⁷³⁶ Gabba 1991, p. 80. The pertinent sections of Dionysius are 1.9-44.

⁷³⁷ The classic studies of these traditions are Bayet 1920 and Bickerman 1952. For a recent reassessment, see Delcourt 2001. A recent literary treatment is Fabre-Serris 2008.

⁷³⁸ This migration took place in the third generation after humans first appeared in Arcadia; Scheer 2011, p. 13. The Oionotros myth is already found in the fifth century B.C. mythographer and genealogist Pherekydes of Athens (*BNJ* 3 F 156).

Palatine.⁷³⁹ The hill was named after Pallantion, his hometown in southern Arcadia, and Evander was especially remembered for instituting religious rites from his fatherland.⁷⁴⁰ As we have seen, among these were the cult of Pan Lykaios in the Lupercal with its festival, the Lupercalia. The original inhabitants of the Palatine hill, now the home of Caesar Augustus, were thus Arcadians who worshipped their peculiar deity Pan, who in turn had his home on Mt. Lykaion in the central Peloponnese.

Dionysius' reconstruction of Roman origins would have been familiar to his ancient readers, both Greek and Roman. The idea that there was something Arcadian about Rome had by Dionysius' day been around for hundreds of years.⁷⁴¹ Furthermore, in the Augustan age Latin authors were keenly interested in these traditions.⁷⁴² Book eight of Virgil's *Aeneid* tells the story of Evander and his Arcadians, their encounter with Hercules and his victory over Cacus, and the friendship that developed between Aeneas and Evander.⁷⁴³ Harrison even argues that Evander's prayer at 8.572-574, where he calls upon Jupiter as *Arcadii regis*, is a reference to the myth of Zeus' birth on Mt. Lykaion.⁷⁴⁴ Livy reported the story of Evander's Palatine and the Lykaian origins of the

⁷³⁹ The ancients acknowledged that this event took place before the Trojan War, but how much before is unclear. Dionysius places Evander 60 years earlier than the expedition to Troy; Scheer 2011, p. 13. Evander first appears in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, where he is called a Tegean and son of Echemos (frg. 168 Merkelbach-West).

⁷⁴⁰ A similar tradition said the hill was named for Pallas, the ancestor or son of Evander; Jost and Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2010, p. 306.

⁷⁴¹ Cornell 1995, pp. 68-69. Arcadian origins were ascribed to a large number of Mediterranean groups in antiquity, including Cretan and Cypriot communities, the Teuthranians, the Phrygians, the Bithynians, and Trapezous in Pontus; see Scheer 2011. See Aliquot 2009 on Syria, where Damaskos, son of Hermes, was called the founder of Damascus.

⁷⁴² This point is stressed by Jost and Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2010, p. 306: "Le theme, récemment étudié chez Tite-Live, Virgile, Ovide et Denys d'Halicarnasse, est particulièrement en vogue à l'époque augustéenne."

⁷⁴³ On these myths, see Wiseman 2004, pp. 24-32. On Arcadia in the *Georgics* and *Eclogues*, see Jenkins 1989.

⁷⁴⁴ Harrison 1984.

Lupercalia,⁷⁴⁵ as did Ovid in his *Fasti*, among other etiologies.⁷⁴⁶ Rome's earliest historians, Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus, attributed the importation of writing to Evander, and Cato the Elder ascribed the first settlement on the Palatine to the same Arcadian wanderers.⁷⁴⁷

Another story also linked Rome with Arcadia, although less directly.⁷⁴⁸ The Arcadian hero Telephos is said to have migrated to Mysia, the region around Pergamon in western Anatolia.⁷⁴⁹ Telephos was the son of Herakles and Auge, the priestess of Athena Alea at the Arcadian city of Tegea. Fearing her father, Auge placed the infant Telephos in the temple for safekeeping. Unfortunately, the king found out about the situation and banished Auge to Mysia. After a series of adventures Telephos himself winds up in Mysia, where he is adopted by the king, marries a Trojan princess, and eventually gets involved in the Trojan Wars, although it is left to his son, Eurypylos, to lead the Mysian allies of Troy. Under the Attalid kings, Pergamon used this myth to acquire an appropriately ancient pedigree, and it seems that even before their time the Hekatomnids of Caria had done the same.⁷⁵⁰ Pausanias tells us of Auge's tomb at

⁷⁴⁵ Liv. 1.5. Jost and Hoët-van Cauwenberghe (2010, p. 306) assert that Livy did not know the tradition, but the Latin makes it clear that he did: *Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum* (cf. the commentary of Ogilvie 1965, pp. 51-53). Prop. 4.1.3-4 mentions the fugitive oxen of Evander on the Palatine.

⁷⁴⁶ Ov. *Fast.* 1.461-586, 2.267-474; for commentary, see Green 2004; Robinson 2011. Note especially 2.423-424: *Quid vetat Arcadio dictos a monte Lupercos? Faunus in Arcadia templa Lycaeus habet*. Ovid has just finished giving the Latin derivation of the Lupercal from the she-wolf (*lupa*) that nursed Romulus and Remus. He playfully ends the account with these two lines on Mt. Lykaion and Pan.

⁷⁴⁷ Fabius Pictor: *FRHist* 1 frg. 27; Cincius Alimentus: *FRHist* 2 frg. 9; Cato: *FRHist* 5 frgs. 3, 61; Evander brought Aeolic Greek to Italy, and Evander's prefect the Arcadian Catillus founded Tibur. Note also that Dionysius includes men of Pheneos among the companions of Herakles (1.34.2).

⁷⁴⁸ On the myth and its expression at Pergamon and Tegea, see Scheer 2011, pp. 17-18. For the construction of identity at Pergamon, see Dignas 2012.

⁷⁴⁹ Part of the story is found already in Archilochus (*P.Oxy.* 4708) and the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (frg. 165 Merkelbach-West).

⁷⁵⁰ Dignas 2012, p. 129.

Pergamon (8.4.8-9, cf. also 1.4.6), and the Pergamon Altar featured a frieze that detailed the life of Telephos.⁷⁵¹ It has been suggested that these traditions structured Roman origin myths, including that of Aeneas' migration to Italy. Indeed, Lycophron includes the sons of Telephos among Aeneas' companions.⁷⁵²

Where did these stories come from? What was so Arcadian about Rome? As mentioned earlier, we are not wanting for answers. Indeed, Dionysius himself explained the Arcadian origin of the Aborigines of Italy on the grounds that their name derived from Latin *ab* + Greek ὄρος, i.e., that they were mountain people. He went on to note that Ἀρκαδικὸν γὰρ τὸ φιλιχωρεῖν ὄρεσιν, so it would make sense that the Arborgines were of Arcadian extraction.⁷⁵³ For Bayet, who wrote a groundbreaking study of these myths,⁷⁵⁴ the mountainous landscape of southwestern Italy reminded traveling Greeks of the situation in the central Peloponnese and Epirus, and they therefore linked the inhabitants of all these regions. As the name 'Italy,' which was originally confined to the southwestern part of the peninsula, spread further and further north, traditions about migrations accompanied the toponym and eventually brought Arcadians to Rome. At Rome, people noticed similarities in the cults of the Lupercal and Mt. Lykaion and their associated gods, Faunus and Pan. Eventually, the relatively obscure Evander of Pallantion served as a convenient vehicle for the transfer of traditions from east to west. Evander must have entered the story in the late fourth or early third century B.C., when Rome was recognized for her military prowess and manpower, or, as the Greeks would say, her

⁷⁵¹ On the altar, see Kunze 1991.

⁷⁵² Lycophr. 1226-1280; Kosmetatou 2003, pp. 172-173, who notes that the Telephos material comes from official Attalid "state mythology." On Rome and Hellenistic Pergamon, see Kuttner 1995.

⁷⁵³ D.H. 1.13.3. Cf. Chapter 3, II, b.

⁷⁵⁴ Bayet 1920.

εὐανδρία.⁷⁵⁵ Peruzzi went so far as to suggest Mycenaean migration to the site of Rome, an idea which Cornell is correct to dismiss.⁷⁵⁶

More recently, Scheer has examined what exactly it was that made the Arcadians attractive ancestors. She suggests that in certain cases Greek mercenaries generated some of the stories after noting homonymy in settlement names, but the rationale behind activating these traditions had more to do the desire for Hellenic identity. Areas without a clear Greek pedigree utilized the Arcadians to acquire the status associated with Hellenism. Arcadian identity also brought with it a reputation for hardiness and excellence in war.⁷⁵⁷ Jost likewise notes that the antiquity ascribed to Arcadian cults gave a similar reputation to the cults of Rome.⁷⁵⁸ We should add that the Arcadians were convenient ancestors for non-Greeks thanks to the fact that they were not included in the canonical stemma of Hellen's descendants.⁷⁵⁹ The Arcadians were autochthonous and of course considered to be Greeks in a certain sense, but it was acknowledged that there was something different about them. This sentiment encouraged foreign groups to forge connections with the Arcadians.

We must admit at the outset that there is no historical validity to these traditions, at least not in the sense that there was ever a migration from Arcadia to Rome. The myths came to life as Greeks and Italians attempted to understand the Mediterranean world in

⁷⁵⁵ Cornell 1995, pp. 68-69.

⁷⁵⁶ Peruzzi 1980; Cornell 1995, pp. 409, n. 24.

⁷⁵⁷ Scheer 2011.

⁷⁵⁸ Jost 2012, p. 110.

⁷⁵⁹ Hall 1997, p. 47.

the late eight and early seventh centuries B.C.⁷⁶⁰ For the Greeks, these myths were used to filter more and more indigenous groups into their own discourse on identity. Malkin suggests that *nostoi* or stories about the returns of heroes from the Trojan War – in particular that of Odysseus – were especially useful in this regard. In turn, the native Italians could use the myths to plug into the high culture of southern Italy and Sicily and – an even more interesting point – to differentiate themselves from one another. For instance, the Romans adopted Aeneas as their ancestor in order to reject a pedigree that connected them with Odysseus and the Etruscans.⁷⁶¹

The Greeks then took these local traditions – originally adapted from their own mythological repertoire – and further elaborated them. Once made, heroic genealogical connections were picked up by poets, mythographers, and historians.⁷⁶² It is difficult to reconstruct these processes, for we have almost no testimony on their earliest stages. In the present case, the best we can do is to follow Wiseman in suggesting that Stesichorus already knew about Evander and Herakles at Rome, for in a fragment of his *Geryoneis* he mentions the place name Pallantion.⁷⁶³

I limit myself here to a few thoughts on the kinds of observations that could have induced wandering Greeks and the Italians with whom they came into contact to link Rome with Arcadia. The two most obvious are 1) the homonymy in the name of

⁷⁶⁰ D'Agostino 1977; Malkin 1998; Hall 2005; Forsythe, 2005, pp. 41-46, . Cf. Hes. *Th.* 1011-1016, where Agrios and Latinos, rulers of the Tyrrhenians, are called the sons of Odysseus and Circe; Wiseman 2004, p. 17.

⁷⁶¹ Malkin 1998, pp. 202-203.

⁷⁶² Malkin 1998, p. 179 suggests, for instance, that Hesiod could have heard the tradition that made Odysseus the father of Latinos and Agrios from Chalkidian traders at the funeral games of Amphidamas.

⁷⁶³ *PMGF* frg. S85; Wiseman 2004, p. 26. Note, however, that this idea has been otherwise explained; Davies 1988, pp. 286-298, esp. n. 50.

Pallantion/Pallas and the Palatine hill,⁷⁶⁴ and 2) the perceived connection between the cults of the Lupercal and Mt. Lykaion. Although there are no significant correspondences in the cultic practices of the Lupercal and Mt. Lykaion,⁷⁶⁵ the etymological link between Λύκος and *Lupus* in the names of Lykaion and the Lupercal, respectively, was certainly noted by the ancients. Along with this observation, it is plausible that vague similarities were recognized, such as the fact that Lykaion was home to Pan, lycanthropy, and other theriomorphic rites, and these in turn could be linked with the goatskin outfits of the Luperci and their wild behavior. If Wiseman is right that the god of the Lupercal was Pan, then the association becomes all the more easy to understand.⁷⁶⁶

I add one observation of my own that has yet to be added to the register. If cultic traditions similar to those familiar from the Greek motherland were one of the ways that the Greeks understood the inhabitants of Italy, then there is a far closer parallel that could be used to link Rome and the Latins with the Arcadians. From at least the mid-sixth century B.C., the communities of Latium met every April to celebrate the *feriae Latinae* in honor of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount. This festival included the sacrifice of a bull, distribution of meat to representatives of the participating communities, and agonistic competitions.⁷⁶⁷ Livy even calls this site a *lucus* or sacred grove,⁷⁶⁸ which reminds one of Λύκαιον and probably reproduces the local toponymy on Mt. Alban. Cornell's description of the *feriae Latinae* is worth quoting: "There can be no doubt

⁷⁶⁴ The significance of this point has recently been called into question, however; Jost and Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2010, p. 306.

⁷⁶⁵ Jost 2012, pp. 110-112.

⁷⁶⁶ Wiseman 1995.

⁷⁶⁷ Cornell 1995, pp. 72, 294-295; Beard, North, and Price 1998, vol. 2, pp. 11-12; Forsythe 2006, p. 184; *BNP*, 2004, coll. 387-388, s.v. *Feriae Latinae* (Baudy); Smith 2012.

⁷⁶⁸ Liv. 1.31: *Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco*.

about the importance of this annual celebration in the ethnic consciousness of the Latins ... The ceremony was evidently an expression of tribal solidarity, and constituted an annual renewal of the ties of kinship that united the Latin peoples.”⁷⁶⁹

Thus, just as the rites on Mt. Lykaion came to symbolize Arcadian ethnic identity during the course of the Archaic period,⁷⁷⁰ in the same way the Latins venerated Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount in order to reaffirm their common nationality. Both featured sacrifices and the distribution of meat, games, and the gathering of inhabitants from the wider region. We can understand how the two rites could have been connected by the ancient Greeks and Italians, eager as they were to understand foreigners in familiar terms. Of course, they would not have envisioned the connection in terms of the modern discourse on ethnic identity, but it would have been easy enough for someone to recognize the parallel. If, as I argued in Chapter 4 (II, c), the Lykaia were held in April, we have yet another similarity. Horden and Purcell have pointed to the Alban Mount and its sanctuary of Jupiter Latiaris as an example of a Mediterranean microregion’s point of orientation, so chosen because it was conspicuous and sacred.⁷⁷¹ Other cult sites in Latium were either oriented towards the peak of the Alban Mount or afforded with a clear view of it. The parallel with the landscape and religious topography of Mt. Lykaion is indeed striking.

In this same vein, it is of interest that we have evidence for a cult of Zeus Lykaios in Sicily already in the fifth century B.C. (I-MTL 19). Manganaro suggests that a bronze ingot dedicated by a woman named Trygon to Zeus Lykaios should be associated with

⁷⁶⁹ Cornell 1995, p. 294.

⁷⁷⁰ Chapter 3, II.

⁷⁷¹ Horden and Purcell 2000, pp. 125, 421.

Messana in northeastern Sicily, where Pan was also worshipped. Arcadian mercenaries wound up here early in the fifth century B.C. and brought their traditions with them.⁷⁷²

In any event, once made, such connections in heroic genealogy and cult practices affected both Greek and Italian traditions, and we get the beginnings of the sort of symbiosis that we shall examine in the next section.

II: Arcadia in the Augustan Era

Unfortunately, we have very little information on the interaction of Arcadians and Romans until the Age of Augustus. A major avenue for cultural transmission in both directions was Polybius, who was significantly a native of Megalopolis and spent much time at Rome in elite circles.⁷⁷³ We know that he narrated the migration of Evander to the Palatine and its significance for the development of Rome, but the relevant sections are preserved only in a fragment (6.11a.1). Eckstein, however, has suggested that Polybius' interest in Evander may be evident elsewhere.⁷⁷⁴ According to Plutarch (*Phil.* 18.4-8), Polybius' hero Philopoimen died at a place called 'the Hill of Evander,' located on the Arcadian-Messenian frontier. Thus Philopoimen, "the last of the Greeks," ended his life in 183 B.C. at a place whose name could be connected with the Arcadian hero who founded the earliest settlement on the Palatine Hill at Rome. Philopoimen, the last leader of the Greeks (in Polybius' eyes), passed the baton to the Romans through his death at a site reminiscent of his fellow countryman Evander, who had initiated Rome's rise to greatness.

⁷⁷² Manganaro 1990, pp. 426-427, with pl. LXXXIX, 4.

⁷⁷³ See Walbank 1972, ch. 1.

⁷⁷⁴ Eckstein 1997, p. 196, with n. 68.

By the time of Augustus, Greeks and Romans thus had a variety of ways in which to associate Rome with the Greek Arcadians. In two of these cases, the connections found concrete expression in the monuments of Rome. We have already seen that the cave of the Lupercal was closely connected with Evander, as was the Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium.⁷⁷⁵ Suetonius includes the Lupercalia among the rites renewed by Augustus,⁷⁷⁶ and Dionysius even tells us that Evander and his mother Carmentis (or Carmenta) received yearly sacrifices at sites near the Porta Trigemina and the Porta Carmentalis, respectively.⁷⁷⁷

Augustus himself linked the Arcadian temple of Athena Alea at Tegea with his Forum in Rome's center. Pausanias tells us that he removed the cult statue of Athena Alea from the Arcadian sanctuary and placed it in the new forum.⁷⁷⁸ The periegete argues that this was done to punish the Tegeans, for, with the exception of Mantinea, all of the Arcadian states had sided with Antony at Actium.⁷⁷⁹ Scholars have questioned this interpretation, however, with some suggesting that the statue was chosen because of its great antiquity.⁷⁸⁰ I submit that the statue was brought to Rome on account of the genealogical connection that linked Telephos, Troy, and Rome, for it was in the temple of

⁷⁷⁵ Cf. *CIL* VI 30735b.

⁷⁷⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 31.4.

⁷⁷⁷ D.H. 1.32.2; cf. Verg. *A.* 333-341. Eust. on Dionys. Per. 347 speaks of a tomb of Evander on the Palatine.

⁷⁷⁸ Paus. 8.46. The tusks of the Kalydonian boar were also removed from the temple, although they were not placed in the Forum of Augustus. Pausanias says that one eventually broke, but the other was deposited in a Dionysus sanctuary located in the emperor's gardens. Levi suggests these were Caesar's gardens along the Tiber, where Tiberius built the temple of Fors Fortuna; Levi 1979, p. 486, n. 337.

⁷⁷⁹ Paus. 4.31.1, 8.8.12, 46.1. This idea is supported by Gossage 1954, p. 52, who argues that the removal of the statue symbolized the city's loss of independence.

⁷⁸⁰ Jost and Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2010, p. 202, n. 109.

Athena Alea that Telephos had been deposited as an infant.⁷⁸¹ Indeed, the exedra to the left of the temple of Mars Ultor featured Aeneas and his descendants (the Alban kings and Iulii), and both exedrae were meant to emphasize the lineage of Augustus.

The Mantineans, who, as previously mentioned, were the only Arcadians on Octavian's side at Actium, made use of the mythical genealogy of the Iulii and Augustus when they founded a temple to Aphrodite Symmachia ('Alliance Aphrodite') after the battle.⁷⁸² The choice of Aphrodite is clearly due to Augustus' divine ancestor, acquired through his adoption by Julius Caesar.⁷⁸³ Similarly, it was probably in the Augustan period that the Mantineans began venerating Anchises, father of Aeneas, at a site in the countryside located next to a sanctuary of Aphrodite. This localization, which juxtaposed Anchises with the mother of his child, was certainly intentional. The story – which placed Aeneas in Arcadia when his father passed away – established yet another mythical connection between early Rome and the Arcadians.⁷⁸⁴

At an earlier date, perhaps in the Hellenistic period, the sanctuary on Mt. Lykaion may have made a similar claim, as we know from an inscription in the Lower Sanctuary that made Astyanax a descendant of Arkas (I-MTL 7). However, we only know the text from Pausanias (8.38.5), and it is possible that his knowledge of the links between Arcadia and Rome encouraged him to misinterpret the statue of a victor named Astyanax of Arcadia and associate it with Astyanax of Troy.

⁷⁸¹ *Digitalaugustanrome.org*, s.v. Forum Augusti (E.A. Dumser), accessed 17 March 2016; Claridge 1998, pp. 158-161.

⁷⁸² Paus. 8.12.8-9.

⁷⁸³ Jost and Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2010, pp. 301-302.

⁷⁸⁴ Jost and Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2010, p. 302.

In sum, it is clear that the Mantineans incorporated elements from the mythology of the Iulii into newly established cults in their territory. We can also perceive an interest in Arcadian antiquities at Rome in the time of Augustus. The stories of Evander and Telephos were inscribed in the topography of the city; in the latter case, this was done by Augustus himself. In the province of Achaëa, the mainland Greeks participated in this same religious and mythological discourse through the foundation of new agonistic festivals in honor of the emperor. The rationale for these foundations always went back to an earlier historical or mythological connection with Rome or the house of Augustus.

III. Patterning the Agonistic Festivals in the Province of Achaëa

In the decades following Augustus' victory at Actium and the establishment of the principate, the Greeks in Achaëa quickly incorporated the imperial cult into the religious fabric of both city and countryside. Temples, statues, and other dedications were set up in large numbers,⁷⁸⁵ and additionally, regularly held agonistic festivals, with athletic and/or musical contests, were established in honor of the emperor and the imperial family. Because of the prestige of the agonistic circuit in mainland Greece – which included the most renowned Panhellenic contests – Achaëa remained the most important venue for agonistic competition in the Roman Empire.⁷⁸⁶ There were two ways in which a festival could be inaugurated: the community either established a brand new festival, usually called Kaisareia or Sebasteia (or Sebasta), or else a Kaisareia, Sebasteia, or Sebasta was

⁷⁸⁵ See Alcock 1993, ch. 5, esp. pp. 181-199 and fig. 60.

⁷⁸⁶ Spawforth 1989; van Nijf 2001; Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, p. 184.

attached to an already existing festival.⁷⁸⁷ In either case, the community sponsoring the festival had to get permission from the emperor to institute it,⁷⁸⁸ and this required the marshaling of arguments in favor of the new establishment.

There had been a precedent for such festivals in the Republican period, during which there flourished festivals called Rhomaia. As with the imperial festivals, these either stood alone or were linked with a traditional *agon*. Rhomaia swiftly arose all over Asia Minor,⁷⁸⁹ and we see a similar phenomenon on the mainland.⁷⁹⁰ At Oropos, Sulla awarded the sanctuary of Amphiaraos with land and ordered that the taxes of Oropos be used to fund festivals in honor of Amphiaraos and Roma. Thus we get the Amphiaraia and Rhomaia, celebrated through at least the middle of the first century B.C.⁷⁹¹ Thespiiai added a Rhomaia to their Erotideia, and there were Rhomaia at Megara and Aigion.⁷⁹² Most interestingly for the present inquiry, the Arcadian city of Mantinea (called Antigoneia at the time) held a Rhomaia in tandem with its tradition festival of the Posidaia (*IG* IV 1136).

In the same way, we have both new festivals for the emperor and dual festivals where he was honored with a traditional deity. Little work has been done on the patterning created by these two strategies, but it is clear that the choice was deliberate and must have had an individual set of motivations in each case. The known examples in the

⁷⁸⁷ Lafond 2006, pp. 296-315; Camia and Kantiréa 2010.

⁷⁸⁸ Bowersock 1965, pp. 115-116; Remijsen 2015, pp. 208-209. Clear evidence does not begin until the first century A.D. On the Roman emperors' relationship with Greek athletics, see Spawforth 2007; Pleket 2010.

⁷⁸⁹ We have evidence for Rhomaia at Alabanda, Magnesia, Pergamon, and in Lycia. Elsewhere in the Greek world Rhomaia were held on Kos, Rhodes, Corcyra, and at Naples.

⁷⁹⁰ *RE* I A, 1, 1914, coll. 1061-1063, s.v. Ῥωμαῖα (Pfister); Mellor 1975, pp. 169-173.

⁷⁹¹ Schachter 1994, pp. 26-27.

⁷⁹² For Aigion, see I-MTL 37. There was another Rhomaia in the vicinity of Euboea, founded in 146 B.C. according to a recently published inscription; *SEG* 54 516; Knoepfler 2015, p. 177.

province of Achaëa that can be dated to the time of Augustus include the following examples⁷⁹³:

- 1) Isthmia and Kaisareia at Corinth
- 2) Sebasteia at Athens/Pythian Procession and Games on Augustus' birthday
- 4) Apolloneia Asklepieia Kaisareia at Epidauros
- 4) Kaisareia at Messene
- 5) Lykaia-Kaisareia at Megalopolis
- 6) Kaisareia Erotideia Rhomaia at Thespiæ⁷⁹⁴
- 7) Kaisareia at Tanagra⁷⁹⁵
- 8) Kaisareia at Sparta⁷⁹⁶
- 9) Kaisareia at the Roman colony of Patrai⁷⁹⁷

The known examples in the province of Achaëa that are dated after the time of Augustus (but of which some could go back to the time of his reign) include the following:

- 10) Great Panathenaia Sebasta and Kaisareia Sebasta at Athens (A.D. 47/8-51/2)
- 11) Sebasteia Nemea at Argos (*IG IV 606*)⁷⁹⁸
- 12) Kaisareia at Gytheion (*SEG 11 923*: A.D. 15)
- 13) Kaisareia Erotideia at Thebes or Thespiæ (if the latter, then perhaps equivalent no. 6)
- 14) Great Ptoia Kaisareia at Akraiphia (A.D. 37/8)
- 15) Kaisareia at Lebadeia (A.D. 14-23)⁷⁹⁹
- 16) Pythia Kaisareia at Delphi (A.D. 81-96?)
- 17) Great Kaisareia and Elaphebolia and Laphria at Hyampolis (early Empire)
- 18) Kaisareia at Larissa (first century A.D.)
- 19) Great Actia Kaisareia at Nikopolis (A.D. 69-79)
- 20) Great Kaisareia and Sebasteia at Chalkis (first century A.D.)⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹³ With the exception of no. 9, these data are drawn from the tab. IV in Kantiréa 2007.

⁷⁹⁴ At some point (perhaps already under Augustus), this festival also included the Mouseia Sebasteia (all seem to have been part of the same general celebration).

⁷⁹⁵ See Schachter 1994, p. 209.

⁷⁹⁶ First attested in the Flavian era, although Camia and Kantiréa 2010, p. 383 suggest that they were instituted by Eurycles during the reign of Augustus (Moretti 1953, no. 66).

⁷⁹⁷ *Inscr. Cos* EV 218: late first century B.C.; *SEG 29 340*: second-third century A.D.

⁷⁹⁸ The agonothete Tib. Claudius Diodotus indicates a post-Augustan date; a new decree mentions Ti. Iulius Claudianus as the agonothete, where Ti. and Claudianus point in the same direction.

⁷⁹⁹ Schachter 1994, p. 208.

⁸⁰⁰ To these we may add the Kaisareia at Sikyon, attested first in the third century A.D. (*Corinth* 8.3, no. 272).

The patterning seems to indicate that Kaisareia were added to existing festivals when the cult in question had special significance for the Romans, Augustus, and/or the imperial family. Places that lacked festivals with such connections founded a new one in honor of the emperor, but where we have the evidence the same rhetoric appears even at these newly minted celebrations. Let's take a closer look.



Map 12: Sites in Achaia with Agonistic Festivals for the Imperial Cult

Blue: first attestation dates to the reign of Augustus; Yellow: first attestation dates after the reign of Augustus): 1) Actium; 2) Larissa; 3) Patrai; 4) Messene; 5) Megalopolis; 6) Sparta; 7) Gytheion; 8) Argos; 9) Corinth; 10) Epidauros; 11) Athens; 12) Delphi; 13) Akraiphia; 14) Lebadeia; 15) Thespiiai; 16) Thebes; 17) Tanagra; 18) Hyampolis; 19) Chalkis

The Isthmia and Kaisareia at Corinth seem to have been the earliest such festival in Greece. The sources make it clear that these were two different sets of contests, but they were both held during the traditional festival of Poseidon. The Isthmia had been the venue for Flamininus' declaration of the 'Freedom of the Greeks' in 196 B.C., and Corinth had been re-founded as a Roman colony by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C.⁸⁰¹ Moreover, the archaic temple of Apollo at Corinth was probably chosen as the location for the imperial cult due to Augustus' devotion to this god, and we know from

⁸⁰¹ On the organization of the colony, see Romano 2010.

inscriptions that the Corinthians worshipped Neptunus Augustus.⁸⁰² We see a connection with Flamininus again at Gytheion near Sparta in A.D. 15, when this community established its own Kaisareia festival. According to the inscription that prescribes the order of events at this feast, the sixth day was devoted to Flamininus, who had liberated Gytheion from Sparta in 195 B.C.⁸⁰³

The Apolloneia Asklepieia Kaisareia at Epidauros can be linked to Augustus through his patron god, Apollo, and Apollo's son Asclepius.⁸⁰⁴ As we saw above, the Kaisareia Erotideia Rhomaia at Thespiiai had been preceded in the Republican period by the Erotideia and Rhomaia. Furthermore, the Erotideia are so named in honor of Eros, the son of Aphrodite and thus a close relative of the Iulii and Augustus. That the Greeks understood the importance that Aphrodite or Venus had for Augustus has already been demonstrated by the cults of Anchises and Aphrodite Symmachia at Mantinea. It is also indicated by the Kaisareia festival at Gytheion, where Aphrodite appears in two guises, that of *Victrix* (Νίκη) and *Genetrix*,⁸⁰⁵ and it is striking to find these associations at a site which had its own important cult of Aphrodite.⁸⁰⁶ A bit later we see the same phenomenon at Epidauros, where Caligula's sister Drusilla was equated with Aphrodite.⁸⁰⁷ Moving on to the Sebasteia at Athens, this festival had a precursor closely connected with Apollo, for Augustus had revived the procession from Athens to Delphi,

⁸⁰² Camia and Kantiréa 2010, p. 377; Hoskins Walbank 2010, p. 364. For a full list of assimilations of imperial figures with Greek divinities in Achaëa, see Kantiréa 2007, tab. 3; for a list of monuments dedicated to imperial figures and Greek gods, see Kantiréa 2007, tab. 2.

⁸⁰³ Liv. 34.29. For the text of the inscription, see Kantiréa 2007, appendix Ia, no. 2.

⁸⁰⁴ Cf. the comparison of Augustus and Asclepius at Ov. *Met.* 15.622-870; Riginos 1976, p. 28, n. 64.

⁸⁰⁵ Kantiréa 2007, pp. 68-69.

⁸⁰⁶ Paus. 3.22.1-2 tells us that Paris and Helen first slept together on the offshore island of Kranae. On the mainland across from the island was a sanctuary of Aphrodite *Migonitis* ('of Sex').

⁸⁰⁷ Camia and Kantiréa 2010, pp. 377-378.

but it now began on his birthday, the 23rd of September, and was accompanied by athletic contests.⁸⁰⁸

Of the imperial festivals for which the evidence dates after the reign of Augustus, the following instances fit the same pattern. The Pythia Kaisareia were held at the preeminent cult site of Augustus' patron god, and the Great Ptoia Kaisareia at Akraiphia were also held at an Apollo sanctuary. The Great Panathenaia Sebasta and the Kaisareia Sebasta at Athens fit with Augustus' involvement at this most important of Greek cities, where he was assimilated with Zeus Boulaios and, most significantly, hailed as the new Apollo.⁸⁰⁹ Remember also that the temple of Roma and Augustus had been dedicated on the Acropolis, likely before his third visit to the city in 19 B.C., and 17 altars of Augustus have been discovered in the Athenian and Roman agoras.⁸¹⁰ If any ancient city of Achaea was closely linked to the person of the emperor it was Athens, which had to be rehabilitated after the defeat of Antony. The addition of emperor worship to the most Athenian of all festivals, the Panathenaia, makes sense not only of this fact but also of the religious topography, for the monopteros dedicated to Roma and Augustus stands immediately in front of the Parthenon on the Acropolis, not far from the altar of Athena where the hecatomb would be offered.⁸¹¹

The Great Kaisareia, Elaphebolia, and Laphria at Hyampolis have an intriguing connection with Augustus. At Patrai there was a (non-agonistic) festival for Artemis Laphria, a deity that Augustus had transferred from Kalydon. Indeed, she is sometimes

⁸⁰⁸ Camia and Kantiréa 2010, p. 377, with n. 17.

⁸⁰⁹ *SEG* 29 167.

⁸¹⁰ Raja 2012, pp. 113-114.

⁸¹¹ Camp 2001, pp. 187-188. For the sacrifice, see McInerney 2014.

called Artemis Laphria Augusta or Diana Laphria Augusta,⁸¹² which makes one think of the Laphria festival held at Hyampolis, where in previous times Artemis held only the epithet of Elaphebolos. It is therefore possible that the connection between Augustus and Artemis Laphria was recognized when these festivals were instituted.

The Great Actia Kaisareia were founded in commemoration of Augustus' victory over Antony at the city he founded in honor of this same triumph. The Great Kaisareia and Sebasteia at Chalkis were held at a city that had hosted its own Rhomaia during Republican times. Argos, which administered the Sebasteia Nemea, had established the earliest festival held in honor of a Roman general, the Titeia, founded for Flamininus after his announcement of the freedom of Argos at the Nemea of 195 B.C.⁸¹³ Moreover, as I shall argue in the case of the Lykaia, there was already a myth that connected Rome, Argos, and cult, for there was a tradition that Hercules founded the rite of the Argei at Rome as a replacement for human sacrifices to Saturn.⁸¹⁴ In this connection, it is significant that Herakles was the hero who defeated the Nemean Lion.

Accordingly, this patterning of dual festivals shows that many *agones* were instituted at cult sites that had connections to Apollo and Aphrodite, the two most significant deities in the religious ideology of Augustus and Caesar.⁸¹⁵ Interestingly, we also find Kaisareia – both stand-alone and dual – founded at sites where Flamininus had made his presence felt. In the same vein, sometimes Kaisareia were founded at sites where previously Rhomaia had been celebrated. Newly established Kaisareia or Sebasteia

⁸¹² Kantiréa 2007, pp. 98-101.

⁸¹³ *SEG* 22 266.

⁸¹⁴ D.H. 1.38.2-4, where the rite is associated with human sacrifice to Saturn/Kronos; Wiseman 2004, pp. 24-25.

⁸¹⁵ For the importance of these two gods for the Julio-Claudians, see Camia and Kantiréa 2010, pp. 377-378.

appear at Patrai, Sparta, Messene, Tanagra, and, attested at a later date, at Chalkis, Larissa, Gytheion, and Lebadeia. Messene had a traditional festival for Zeus Ithomaïos, the Ithomaia, but a new festival was nevertheless founded for the imperial cult, while Tanagra had only the Hermaia for ephebes.⁸¹⁶ Neither of these festivals had any connection with Rome or Augustus. Patrai had no known agonistic festivals prior to the imperial period,⁸¹⁷ and Sparta was rich in cults, but thanks to Sparta's traditional xenophobia the associated contests had not been open to foreigners, hence the creation of a new Kaisareia.⁸¹⁸ Indeed, Cartledge and Hornblower have argued that the foundation of three new agonistic festivals in the Roman imperial period helped to propel Sparta back into the mainstream of Greek cultural life.⁸¹⁹ We have seen that the festival at Gytheion utilized the same Venus- and Flamininus-inspired elements that we saw in some of the dual festivals, and Chalkis had earlier hosted its Rhomaia for over a century, so that the imperial festival can be interpreted as an appropriate replacement. The Kaisareia at Lebadeia were a new foundation where previously two agonistic festivals existed, that of Zeus Eleutherios and that of the Trophonia. As was the case in both Messene and Tanagra, however, neither festival was connected with the Romans or Augustus. Finally, Larissa had established a festival after the victories of Flamininus.⁸²⁰ These games were called the Eleutheria in honor of Zeus Eleutherios, but they nevertheless commemorated

⁸¹⁶ Ithomaia: Paus. 4.33.2. For the Hermaia at Tanagra (a festival for ephebes, and thus probably not open to foreigners): *IG* VII 971-973.

⁸¹⁷ Lafond 1998, p. 240.

⁸¹⁸ Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, p. 184 and Appendix 4, who note that it was not until the Augustan era that Sparta began to attract foreign competitors. Spartan antiquities were also something of a tourist attraction for the Romans, and deliberate archaizing is to be expected.

⁸¹⁹ Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, p. 176.

⁸²⁰ Knoepfler 2015, p. 177. We now know that these were not restricted to the citizens of Larissa thanks to I-MTL 37.

the activity of the Roman general and were thus an appropriate precursor to the local Kaisareia.

This leaves us with two outliers, the Isthmia and Kaisareia and the Lykaia-Kaisareia. We have seen that the Isthmia festival had special significance for both Greeks and Romans due to Flamininus' declaration in 196 B.C., and Corinth had recently been re-founded as a Roman colony by Augustus' adoptive father. Accordingly, the parallels indicate that there should be something special about the Lykaia for it to have been supplemented with a Kaisareia. That this was the case is further highlighted by the fact that Mantinea – the only Arcadian state that stood with Octavian at Actium – alone of all Arcadian communities had held a Rhomaia festival during the Republican period. Accordingly, Mantinea offered a most appropriate site for hosting a Kaisareia in Arcadia. Instead, however, the Lykaia of Megalopolis took this honor.

I suggest that the Megalopolitans were allowed to supplement the Lykaia with a Kaisareia in honor of Augustus thanks to the numerous mythical ties that connected the Arcadians and Romans. As I noted above, the earliest inscription that documents the dual festival can be safely dated to the final years of the first century B.C. or the early years of the first century A.D. We can even point to the family most likely responsible for securing the addition, for the children of a man named Onasikrates appear in two honorary inscriptions for building and rebuilding of temples and maintaining priesthoods.

The first attestation of the Lykaia-Kaisareia is found on the honorary decree of Xenarchos, son of Onasikrates, the high priest of the imperial cult who had also helped the local population by selling grain at a cheap price during a series of famines. Such

disasters were frequent during this time. Archaeological survey of the region indicates a reduction in population and settlement density, a situation most likely brought about by the Roman civil wars of the first century B.C.⁸²¹ Since the locals were on the wrong side of the war between Antony and Octavian, it seems that the family of Onasikrates, through establishing the imperial cult in Megalopolis, had taken steps to make amends for the earlier hostility. We can imagine that, when pitching the new festival to the Roman authorities, the Megalopolitan elites cited such precedents as Evander and the Lupercalia and the Pallantion origins of the Palatine Hill. Indeed, at this time Megalopolis controlled both the Lykaia festival – believed to be the template for the Lupercalia – and the village of Pallantion. The decree in question was promulgated by Megalopolis and the Roman businessmen in residence there, which may give us some idea of the kinds of interactions that led to the establishment of the hybrid festival.

Accordingly, the myth – which had originally benefitted the Romans in their earlier dealings with the Greeks – could now be used by the Greeks to get benefits from the Romans. The addition of the Kaisareia added new contests to the Lykaia, which meant more competitors and more spectators. In this way, there was an increase in economic activity that accompanied the festival at a time when the area was particularly poor. The dual festival was still running in the late second century A.D., and it may be documented by a series of coins that date to the Severan era.⁸²²

This analysis of the Lykaia-Kaisareia is supported by two subsequent developments. The Mantineans accepted Antinoos, the favorite of Hadrian, as a god and

⁸²¹ Roy, Lloyd, and Owens 1989; Roy 2010b, p. 59, 65 on the status of Pallantion prior to Antoninus Pius.

⁸²² Head 1911, p. 451.

built him a temple, which Pausanias says was the newest temple at Mantinea (Paus. 8.9.7-8). Every year there were sacrifices to Antinoos, and every four years the agonistic Antinoeia were held in his honor.⁸²³ All of this was done, we are told, because Antinoos was from Bithynion in Asia Minor. The Bithynians were not only Arcadians but Mantineans, so it made good sense for him to be worshipped in his mother city. Indeed, we are told that this was done at the behest of Hadrian himself. Once again, we see how ancient traditions of Arcadian migration were activated in the days of the Roman Empire to forge a new connection between an Arcadian community and the emperor.

Under Antoninus Pius the hamlet of Pallantion was declared to be free and exempt from taxation, on the grounds that it was the original home of Evander, who had founded his settlement on the Palatine (Paus. 8.43.1-2).⁸²⁴ This new status was commemorated by a temple that featured statues of Pallas and Evander. Again, we see that the myth was used to benefit the Greeks under the Roman empire, a phenomenon that had its roots in the age of Augustus.

Much later, in the days of the Byzantine emperor Justinian (A.D. 535), the prefect of Lycaonia in Anatolia was honored with the title of praetor on the grounds that the Lycaonians were Arcadians, descended from a colony sent by king Lykaon, who once ruled in Arcadia in Greece (*Lycaoni namque olim in Arcadia Hellade regnanti*).⁸²⁵ From this same Lycaon sprang the very beginnings of the Roman state. All of this took place many generations before the flight of Aeneas to Italy and the life of Romulus. The Lycaonians and Romans were thus closely related, and it was therefore right for them to

⁸²³ Camia and Kantiréa 2010, p. 388; Jost and Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2010, pp. 304-305.

⁸²⁴ Jost and Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2010, p. 306.

⁸²⁵ *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, novella 25.

receive a properly honored magistrate. Even in the sixth century A.D., common descent from the Arcadians could be activated to obtain real world benefits.

IV. Summary

Stories about Arcadian migrants living on the Palatine Hill developed as the Greeks and Italians came into contact with one another during the Archaic period. The Arcadian cult of Zeus Lykaeos contributed a great deal to the formation of these stories, in particular through the perceived similarity between the cults of Mt. Lykaion and the Lupercal. I have suggested that the Lykaia and the *feriae Latinae* of the Alban Mount were in fact far more similar and offered another possible avenue for the conflation of the Arcadians with the Latins and Romans. In any event, once formed these connections were used by both peoples at different points of their history. Starting around 200 B.C., the Romans found their Arcadian pedigree useful as they came to involve themselves more and more in Hellenic affairs. We can imagine, for instance, that Polybios fit in so well during his captivity at Rome thanks to the fact that he was, in a sense, related to his captors.

After Octavian's victory over Antony at Actium, most of the Arcadians were probably seized with a sense of panic. They had supported the wrong champion and now had to deal with the consequences. The Mantineans, who alone had endorsed Octavian, quickly reinforced their loyalty by dedicating sanctuaries to Aphrodite Symmachia and Anchises, the ancestors of Octavian and his adoptive father Julius. Augustus removed the statue of Athena Alea from Tegea and brought it to Rome to adorn his the new Forum

Augusti. By this act the emperor endorsed the genealogical connection linking Arcadia, the Troad, and Rome – and in particular the Iulii.

The rest of the Arcadians responded in kind. The Greeks began founding new festivals in honor of the emperor immediately after Actium, and we have seen that dual festivals were established at sanctuaries that could be connected with Augustus or earlier Roman activity in Achaea, in particular that associated with the liberator Flamininus. It is thus striking that the Arcadians instituted their Kaisareia not at Mantinea – which had not only been the sole state to support Octavian but had also hosted a Rhomaia festival in the pre-imperial era – but rather at Megalopolis, where it was twinned with the Lykaia. This must have occurred because of the ancient ties that linked the cult of Mt. Lykaion with that of the Lupercal, and thus the old stories of Arcadian migrants to Italy now benefitted the Arcadians themselves, who further embraced them with the institution of the Lykaia-Kaisareia. We can even point to the man most likely responsible for founding the festival, Xenarchos, son of Onasikrates. The festival was still running in the late second century A.D., and Megalopolitan coins from the Severan era inscribed with ΛΥΚΑΙΑ or ΛΥΚΕΑ indicate that it lasted at least through the reign of Elagabalus.⁸²⁶

It is of interest that Xenarchos was honored at Lykosoura, where he invested much money to construct, repair, and maintain the temples and shrines. In Chapter 3 (V), I suggested that, beginning in the late third century B.C., there was a shift in the focus of the sacred landscape of Mt. Lykaion. This shift was inaugurated by the transfer of the Lykaian Games down to Megalopolis, and it seems to have continued in the adornment of the Lykosoura sanctuary with the famous sculptures by Damophon of Messene. Indeed,

⁸²⁶ Head 1911, p. 451.

Lykosoura issued a decree that prescribed honors for Damophon to be announced at the Lykaia (I-MTL 53).

During the imperial period, the sanctuary at Lykosoura continued to be maintained (*IG V*, 2.520) and became a center of dedication for the most elite Achaean families, including the famous Euryclids and Voluseni of Sparta. Alcock has suggested that elite participation in “major cults offered another link in the developing aristocratic network in the Greek east.”⁸²⁷ Lykosoura was also a major venue for dedications associated with the imperial cult. Indeed, Xenarchos himself was the high priest of the imperial cult for life and built the sanctuary of the Augusti. Decrees of the re-formed Achaean League, which was for the most part an institution based around the imperial cult, were deposited at Lykosoura (*IG V*, 2.517-519a),⁸²⁸ and other inscriptions mention Σεβ[α]στὸν Γερμαν[ικὸν and Hadrian (*IG V*, 2.532-533).

Accordingly, from the late second century B.C. the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion began to lose some of its earlier significance for the inhabitants of Parrhasia. They began to invest more time and energy in Lykosoura, and the Lykaia festival was now held in the city. Pausanias does tell us that sacrifices continued to be made at the Ash Altar, but overall the evidence points towards a realignment. The locals still acknowledged that the mountain was sacred, and indeed one wonders if Lykosoura was not chosen to be the major extra-urban religious center because it was lower down on Mt. Lykaion. The connection linking the city with mountain was thus maintained. Similarly, we have already seen that in Pausanias’ day the Megalopolitans went in procession to the

⁸²⁷ Alcock 1993, pp. 210-211 (quote from p. 211). For the inscriptions documenting this activity, see *IG V*, 2.524-525, 541-544.

⁸²⁸ *OCD*³, 2003, p. 5, s.v. *Achaean Confederacy (Roman)* (Spawforth).

sanctuary of Apollo Parrhasios once each year; this site was also located lower down on the eastern slopes of Mt. Lykaion, at an elevation of 698 m (Paus. 8.38.8).

What all of this says about the practice of religion in southwestern Arcadia must be left for a future discussion. It is of interest, however, that Lykosoura was famous for its mysteries, and one wonders if the changed times did not encourage wider participation in this kind of ritual over the traditional forms that had been practiced high up on the peak sacred to Zeus Lykaios.

CONCLUSION

Mt. Lykaion is dynamic, as it was for well over 1,500 years of antiquity, so much so that eventually it offered common grounds for a shared Greco-Roman identity. The Romans were Arcadians, and by the same token the Arcadians were Romans, and this was all thanks to the cults on Mt. Lykaion and in the Lupercal, because the latter ultimately derived from the former.

During Mycenaean times, Mt. Lykaion became a site for the worship of the Indo-European god of the bright sky, known in Greek as Zeus but who can be traced back into prehistory under his more ancient name of **Dyēws*. His cult name at Mt. Lykaion reproduces a formula that is paralleled in the oldest Indo-European poetry, the *Rig-Veda*, which dates to the middle of the second millennium B.C. The archaeological residue of ritual practice corresponds with the oldest descriptions of Greek sacrifice found in Homer. It is thus clear that continuity of cult at Mt. Lykaion from the Late Bronze Age through to (at least) the Hellenistic period was accompanied by the preservation of prehistoric Indo-European thought patterns. In other words, conservatism was firmly ingrained in both the ritual performance and mentality of the Parrhasians.

Throughout this dissertation, I have stressed this same point time and again, and I have done so for good reasons. Why was Mt. Lykaion considered to be the birthplace of Zeus? Why were the locals thought to be autochthonous and older than the moon? What was so special about this remote – even hostile – mountainous landscape? Why were the Arcadians not descendants of Hellen and his father Deukalion? Why does Pindar call the

altar on Mt. Lykaion an ἄναξ – thereby intentionally characterizing it terms appropriate to the epic past?

I suggest that the answers to all of these questions are to be found in the prehistoric heritage of the cult on the southern peak of Mt. Lykaion. Just as we characterize the earliest archaeological material as ‘Late Helladic,’ the Greeks reported that the inhabitants of the region were exceptionally ancient – so much so that they could not be called descendants of Hellen. Rather, their ancestor *caused* the flood that resulted in the birth of Hellen from Deukalion. The descendants of Deukalion and Pyrrha may have been born from the rocks of Parnassos, but the altar of Zeus Lykaios existed beforehand.

The recognition of this deep antiquity goes a long way in explaining why the sanctuary became so important in the Archaic struggles between the Arcadians and Spartans. To this we can add the fact that Mt. Lykaion looked down on the Megalopolis Basin and the route to Olympia. It also explains why the mythological and genealogical traditions of southwestern Arcadia were eventually adopted by all the inhabitants of the central Peloponnese. Some myths, such as the story of Arkas, were even adjusted so as to be localized on Mt. Lykaion. These traditions were so important that the leaders of the Arcadian League felt it necessary to publicize them not only on their coinage, but also at Delphi on the monument recording their triumph over the Spartans. An Arcadian League could not exist without Mt. Lykaion – simply because of the fact that the Arcadians could not exist without Mt. Lykaion. It had become their *axis mundi*.

The Lykaia festival was what held all of this together. Every four years the Arcadians came together for the major celebration and sacrifice to Zeus Lykaios. They shared meals and transacted business. But, most importantly, they competed in agonistic contests held to glorify Zeus. Outsiders came to compete as well, and we must imagine – as I-MTL 4 and 5 indicate – that the Lykaian Games offered the premier venue for displaying and consuming Arcadian-ness. It was at the festival that the Arcadians reinforced their common identity, while at the same time outsiders participating in the games learned about Arcadian manners and customs. All of this took place on Mt. Lykaion, which thus became more emblematic of Arcadia with each instantiation of the festival.

Accordingly, when Pindar says that the altar of Lykaion shall bear witness to the athletic triumphs of the Oligathidai of Corinth, he is only giving us part of the picture. We have seen in this dissertation that Mt. Lykaion testifies for an entire people and their way of life, and its emblematic status was firmly entrenched in the minds of the ancient Greeks and Romans. It is therefore essential to our understanding not only of the local history of Parrhasia and Arcadia, but also the history of Greco-Roman antiquity as a whole.

Appendix I: Preliminary Reading and Interpretation of ‘A New Bronze Tablet’

a. Transcription

- καθ?]αρμίαν βρή ὄφιν καλιστεύφονσαν τὰ κ[ρ]έα ἄφεθλα θέναι : τάλφεδι χό[ρ-]
ον ---] Μαραθίδαις ὄφιν καλιστεύφονσα τῇ Τριά<v>βρι κᾶφεθ<λα> τὰ κρέα θ[έ-]
ναι ---] βόε δύφο τῇ παναγόρι τῇ Τριάνβρι : τῇ Τριπαναγόρι ἰν Κορυνιτίοι τῷ
--- ὄφι]ν ὄρενα ἰν : τάλφεδι χ : ὄρον ἰν Φελφείονς ννν ἰν Ἀλέαν τὸν Μαραθίδα[.]
- 5 ---]ν ὄφιν κέραις καλιστεύφονσα χόρο δύφο καλιστ<ε>ύφοντε ἀθεμίστια : τ-
---]άται κόρφον ἐνφότοι φέτει ἐξ ἀγέλ[ι] ἀσπίδα ἀκόντιον φοινικίς ξίφος κ-
---]ία φετονασία : ἰν Κορυνίτιον τῇ Τριάνβρι Β<ρ>οντοτινίοι ὄφιν ὄρενα τα-
--- Ζα]πατέαι ὄφιν ὄρενα ἐνφότοι φέτει τῷ Περοπλοδμία : Ζαπατέαι τῷ Πα-
φόνι? ---]ον : ἰν Κέλε<ι> προδεῖ τῷ Κεραυνῷ ἱερὸν ἴον Ολυμπία ὅς τ' : ἰν Σπέλαι τῷ
- 10 --- ὄφιν] ὄρενα ἐνφότοι φέτει ὅτε Περοπλοδμία : τῇ παναγόρι τὰς ἔκοτον[.]
--- φε]κατέρας : ΤΑΣΧΑΛΟΕΜ ἱλατον ΠΥΝΠΡΑΙ προστέθε ΙΟΝΤΑΝ<Ε>Σ<Α>ΡΟΑ
---]οι ὄφιν ὄρενα : τῷ Θερέται κρίον : τάλφεδι κρίον τρεῖς αἶσαι τὸννυ :
---]μεν χόρο δύφο τῇ Κερέαι ὀ<ε>λο δύ<φ>ο
--- ἰν Γεν]έσσαν : ἰν Γενέσσαν ὄφιν τὰγδόα ἱσταμῖνο τὸρμῷ ἄγαλμα π-
- 15 ---] τῷ Διφονύσῳ ἰν Ὑλας (vel. Φυλὰς?) Μοῖσαι τὰ ὄρεν<α> πρὸ τρύσιος : τῷ Κε[.]
--- καθα?]ρμία : ἰν Κάχταν βοῦς τῷ ἁ Τριάνβρις τῷ δ' ἀτέροι φέτει<ι> ὄφιν ὄ[ρε]
ν -- ἰν] Νεμιτεῖαν κερῖον : ἰν Γαμάσι ὄφιν ὄρεν τὰτέροι φέτ[ει .]
--- ἰν Γε]νέσσαν ὄφιν ὄρεν : ἰν τὲ Ιονάταν ὄφιν σκεπτ<έ>ος : ἰν Ὀρκ[. . . .]
--- ἀ]τέροι φέτει θυφέα ὀ<ε>λον : τὸρακλεῖ ὄφιν ὄρεν[α]
- 20 ---]ς βοῦς ἄφετος ὄφιε δύφο ὄρενε κερῖ<ε> δύφο κασο[.]
---]άντι ὄφιν ὄρεν Ὀλυμπιαίοις : Κλετορᾶδε ταῦρον κας[.]
--- Ἀρ]καδικὸν ἀσκὸν ὄφιν τὰνφόται ἱσταμῖνο ἰν Χανχ[.]

*** < represents an unfamiliar letter that resembles an S written with three straight lines, two horizontal and one vertical.

b. Translation

- 1 --- the purifi?]cation, a choice ewe, a strong one. Place the meats as prizes. § For the Alpheos, a pig[l-]
2 et ---] as for the Marathidai, a choice ewe at the Tria<n>bris. Place the meats as prizes.
3 ---] two oxen at the Panagoris of the Trianbris. § At the Thrice-Panagoris at Korunition, the
4 --- a] ram, at (for?) § the Alpheos, a p- § iglet, to Welwwioi. To Alea, as for the Marathidas[
5 ---]n, a choice ewe, a horned one, two choice piglets, wild (?) ones § t-
6 ---]atai of the young men, in the ninth year, from the herd, <sh>ield, javelin, red cloak, sword, k-
7 ---]ia yearly § at Korunition at the Trianbris, for B<r>ontotinos, a ram ta-
8 --- the Za]pateai, a ram, in the ninth year, in which occurs Peroplodmia § The Zapateai, for Pa-
9 n?---]on § In Kelos there is need for a single sacrifice (or, a sacred arrow?) to Keraunos before [that] at
Olympia, and thus § in Spela for
10 --- a ra]m in the ninth year, when occurs Peroplodmia § At the Panagoris, the one-hundred female[
11 --- e]ach § *taschaloem* propitiatory *punprai* let there be set up *iontan<es>arao*
12 ---]oi, a ram § for Theretas, a ram § for the Alpheos, a ram, three shares of these §
13 ---]men, two piglets for Kerea, two spits
14 --- to Gen]eswa § To Geneswa a sheep, on the eighth day of the waning month, a gift for Hermes p-
15 ---] for Dionysus in respect to the tribes, for the Muse, the sheep, in exchange for toil § for Ke-

16 --- purifi?]cation § At the site of Kachtas, an ox in the year of the Trianbris and in the next year a ra-
 17 m --- to] Nemiteia, a honeycomb § at Gamasis, a ram, and in the next yea[r
 18 --- to Ge]neswa a ram § And to Ionata a ram, (which is to be?) inspected § In/to Ork[
 19 ---] in the next year, sacrifices, a spit § For Herakles, a ra[m
 20 ---]ss a cow, one who knows no work, two rams, two honeycombs, *kas*o[
 21 ---]anti, a ram for the gods of Olympia § to Kletor, a bull *kas*[
 22 --- an Ar]cadian hide, a sheep, on the ninth day of the waning month, in Chanch[

c. Remarks on the Tablet's Provenance

Unfortunately, this inscription was looted from a site in Arcadia sometime prior to 1965. It was apparently housed in England for some time and is now reported to be in Germany. The piece has been brought to our attention thanks to the work of J. Heinrichs of the University of Cologne (Heinrichs 2015).

In his recent edition of this inscription, Heinrichs suggests that it came from the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion. According to Heinrichs, it documents a number of festivals and prescribes regulations for Arcadian military training in the late Archaic period. I shall demonstrate that this inscription comes from Heraia. It does indeed prescribe offerings for various divinities and festivals, and it adds much to our dataset on Arcadian religion in the Archaic period. However, no absolutely clear connection with Mt. Lykaion can be elucidated, although I argue in Chapter 1 (III, b) that some elements reflect ancient lore about Zeus Lykaios and his Ash Altar, which may be referred to in the text as the 'Koruntion.' The inscription is largely concerned with rites that regulate the various stages of human life.

To begin with, Heinrichs' reasoning for assigning the inscription to Mt. Lykaion is problematical:

1) He asserts that a boy is offered to Zeus Kataibatas, which would certainly point to the traditions of Mt. Lykaion. However, of Zeus's name all but -άται is a restoration by Heinrichs, and the exact situation of the κόρῃον in question is ambiguous. I suspect that κόρῃον is the correct reading.

2) Heinrichs notes ten separate epithets of Zeus, although the only certain example is *Keraunos*. If my restoration of *Brontotinos* is valid, this would presumably add a second, although the epithet is otherwise unknown and I only suggest it with the utmost of caution. *Peroplodmia* seems related to another Arcadian epithet of Zeus, *Hoplosmios*.

3) He notes that the sanctuary of Zeus is called *Olympus* in the inscription, with the gods called the *Olympiaioi* and the games *Olympiaia*. Again, this is all a matter of interpretation and there is a textual difficulty in the proposed reference to games (if that is in fact what we are dealing with). Ockham's razor and the rules of derivation in Greek certainly demand interpreting *Olympiaioi* as the gods of Olympia, not Olympus.

4) He associates the Alpheios river with Mt. Lykaion, although the only known sanctuary of Alpheios was located at Heraia, a city located on the banks of the river.

5) The interpretation of IN KEAE as an indirect reference to the Lykaion hippodrome is not necessary. The phrase allows for other explanations, and horse races were not restricted to Lykaion.

6) The Korunition refers to the Ash Altar on Mt. Lykaion. This is possible but cannot be proven one way or the other. It is equally plausible that Korunition is an otherwise unknown toponym elsewhere in the Peloponnese. Ancient authors call the Altar βωμός or ἱερὰ κορυφή.

7) The inscription mentions no winter festivals. However, as far as I can tell, we cannot assign a calendar date to any rite mentioned in this text. Also, this restriction would be valid for sites other than Lykaion.

8) Heinrichs argues that at the *Olympiaia* there was an altar of Zeus *Geneswanax*, interpreted by him to mean “lord of the *gene*/clans.” The text in fact reads *Geneswa*, which could be the name of a place or a goddess. I see no reason to supplement the otherwise consistent reading.

9) The fact that the *Arkadikon* coinage of the fifth century B.C. has a female deity on the back is linked to the prominence of Demeter and Despoina in the inscription. This is subsequently connected with the Parrhasian sanctuary at Lykosoura. We must stress, however, that neither Demeter nor Despoina are ever explicitly mentioned in the text of the inscription.

As the reader can see, there is in fact no valid reason for assigning this text to the Lykaion sanctuary. The much more likely candidate would be the polis of Heraia. In the first place, I already mentioned that the only known sanctuary of Alpheios was at Heraia, where Aelian tells us the god was represented in human form (*VH* 2.33). Pausanias says that there were multiple cults of Dionysus at Heraia, in contrast to the situation at Lykaion, where there is no evidence whatsoever for his worship. According to the *periegete*, there were two temples of Dionysus at Heraia, and both were situated along the banks of the Alpheios. The first was to Dionysus Πολίτης, the Citizen, which would fit well with the inscription’s τῷ Διφονύσῳ ἐν Φυλάς. If the latter is to be read as τῷ Διφονύσῳ ἐν Ὑλάς, Heraia once again provides a suitable context: in the same passage Pausanias speaks of a second temple of Dionysus, this one surnamed Αὐξίτης, the Increaser. The site of both of these temples is described in the following manner:

Δρόμοι τε παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ πεποιήνται μυρσίναις καὶ ἄλλοις ἡμέροις
διακεκριμένοι δένδροις, καὶ τὰ λουτρὰ αὐτόθι, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ ναοί.

Paths have been made along the river, and they are distinguished by myrtle trees and other cultivated species, and there are baths here, and also temples to Dionysus.

In the vicinity of Heraia, moreover, there was a site called Maratha (Paus. 8.28.1). It has been identified at modern Agios Nikolaos, between Kynourian Gortys and Heraia (Jost 1999, pp. 197-198). With this toponym we must surely associate the *Marathidai* of the inscription, who play some role at the festival of *Trianbris* and the sanctuary of Alea.

We are told by Strabo (8.3.2) that Heraia was synoecized out of nine *demoi*. Nielsen suggests that these were minor settlements in the greater territory of Heraia (Nielsen 2004, p. 513). While admittedly speculative, it would make sense if these

settlements gave their names to the civic subdivisions of Heraia, as was the case elsewhere in historical Arcadia. Such a situation would provide us with a plausible explanation for the *Welwwioi*, *Marathidai*, *Zapateai*, and perhaps also the toponyms of *Kelos* (or *Keleprodos?*), *Spela*, and *Kachta(s)*.

Heraia minted the earliest coinage currently known from Arcadia, beginning around 510 B.C. The obverse of these issues featured Hera, the reverse an abbreviation of the ethnic (E, EP, EPA, EPAI; Williams 1970). Accordingly, its civic identity was solidly established by the late Archaic period. The links with the poleis of Tegea (if Alea refers to the famous sanctuary) and Kleitor, likewise already important in the Archaic period, are striking and may indicate that there was mutual acknowledgment and recognition between these major sites.

If *Ionata* is an epithet of Artemis (cf. her Homeric epithet *Ιοχέαιρα*), we can note that certain Heraian coins featured this goddess, the earliest from ca. 470 B.C., although Artemis was of course worshipped elsewhere in Arcadia.

The connections with Olympia seen at two points in the text would also make sense for Heraia, whose western border was quite proximal to the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, where Heraians are documented as victors twice in the sixth century B.C. and six times in the fifth (Nielsen 2004, p. 514.).

In sum, while the unfortunate circumstance of this inscription's recovery will forever leave us without a sure provenance, the weight of the evidence argues for Heraia.

d. The *Trianbris* Festival

The text is deeply concerned with a festival called the *Trianbris*, which is certainly the correct reading (cf. ἡ Τριάνβρις in line 16). There is no reason to supplement and correct the reading to *Τριανβρικά, as Heinrichs does. If the festival was in fact for Zeus Ombrios, we should expect *Τριομβρικά, *vel sim*. The name ἡ Τριάνβρις is clearly related to a gloss of Hesychius, s.v. ἀμβρίζειν· θεραπεύειν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς. Thus, at the very least Τριάνβρις refers to sacred activity that took place in sanctuaries. The *Tri*-element could mean 'thrice' or 'three,' perhaps referring to activity at three sanctuaries or three festivals, or *Tri*- could simply be an intensifier (cf., perhaps, *Panathenaia*).

The phrase τῇ παναγόρῃ τῇ Τριάνβρι[ι] (line 3) implies that *Trianbris* modifies *panagoris*, so that we should read 'the festival, the *Trianbris*.' Immediately following (after the punctuation mark, ;), there is a reference to τῇ Τριπαναγόρῃ. Possible meanings include the 'Thrice-festival,' 'Three-festival,' or 'the Three festivals.' Luckily we have another example of this word in Arcadia. *IPArk* 2 is a fourth century B.C. law that concerns grazing rights at the temple of Athena Alea in Tegea. One clause reads τὰς Τριπαναγόρσιος τὰς ὑστέρας τρεῖς ἀμέρας νέμεν ὅτι ἂν βολέτοι ὅς μὲ ἐν τῷ περιχώρῳ ('for the last three days of the *Tripanagorsis*, one may graze wherever he wishes, with the exception of the immediate vicinity'). This makes it clear that Τριπανάγορις/Τριπανάγορσις does not mean 'festival lasting for three days,' as *LSJ*, s.v., suggests. Fougères argued that the Τρι- refers to the fact that the festival of Athena Alea was originally celebrated by three different communities (Fougères 1898, p. 293). One could also imagine that the *Trianbris/Tripanagor(s)is* was a festival that occurred every

third year (Heinrichs 2015), although I have not found a parallel for this sense. It would, however, match with the prescription in line 16: ἰν Κάχταυ βοῦς τῷ ἁ Τριάνβρις τῷ δ'ἄτεροι φέτε<ι> ὄφις.

The new inscription offers us an alternative solution. Given the preceding τῷ Παναγόρι τῷ Τριάνβρι[ι] in the same line (3) and the subsequent prescription for ἰν Κορυνίτιον τῷ Τριάνβρι in line 7, I suggest that τῷ Τριπαναγόρι is a second reference to the *Trianbris*, one in which the Τρι- has been attached to the general term πανάγορις under the influence of the *Trianbris*. This supposition finds some support in line 10, where we find ὅρενα ἐνφότοι φέτει ὅτε Περοπλοδμία : τῷ παναγόρι τὰς ἔκοτον. Here, τῷ παναγόρι probably begins the next in a series of prescriptions for the *Peroplodmia*, although utilizing the more general term for ‘festival.’

On my reading, τῷ Τριπαναγόρι is the second reference to the *Trianbris*, during which the community made offerings at a variety of sites. Since we find the Τριπανάγορις as Tegea, it follows that the *Trianbris/Tripanagor(s)is* was a festival shared by at least two Arcadian communities. If *Korunition* and *Kachtau* (?) imply separate communities, we can add two more areas to which the inscribing community contributed sacrifices during the *Trianbris/Tripanagor(s)is*, although this need not be the case. We can imagine, for instance, that these were places in the territory of the inscribing community.

In any case, the fact that this festival was shared by two Arcadian communities allows us to argue that it was shared by the Arcadians in the same way that the Apatouria was shared by the Ionians. That is, it was a feature of the Arcadian *ethnos*. If we can use the Ionian festival as a guide, the *Trianbris/Tripanagor(s)is* would be the time during which young men were introduced into the civic or tribal subdivisions. Apatouria means ‘the festival of those with the same fathers’ (< *homopatouria*), a clear reference to the ancestors. The Dorians had their own version of this festival in the Karneia, which were held yearly and featured contests (cf. κῶφεθ<λα> τὰ κρέα in line 2). We find other traces of such initiation in the inscription: in line 6 the young men (or young man?) are presented with military equipment every ninth year at the appropriately named *Peroplodmia*.

A tentative etymological interpretation of Τριάνβρις may help to shed light on the situation. In Hesychius’ lexicon, ἀμβρίζειν precedes a long list (12 more entries) of items derived from the word ἄμβροτος, ‘immortal.’ There is even a Laconian gloss, ἀμβροτίζας, which the lexicographer tells us means ἀπαρξάμενος, ‘having offered first fruits.’ Ἀμβροτίζας is the aorist active Laconian participle for the verb ἀμβροτίζειν (Buck 1955, pp. 115-116). I suggest that ἀμβρίζειν is Arcadian for ἀμβροτίζειν, even though the latter is more in line with the derivational rules for denominative verbs in -ίζω. Taken literally, Τριάνβρις means the ‘thrice-immortal festival’ or ‘the festival for the thrice-immortal’ (cf. Diasia, Hermaia, Dionysia, Enyalia, etc., only here expressed with what seems to be an Arcadianism whereby the festival names are feminine singular and end in -ις, no doubt encouraged by the general term *panagoris*).

At the very least, we must conclude that the *Trianbris* was a festival at which at least some Arcadians performed rites at a number of sacred sites every other year. The name fits perfectly with Hesychius’ gloss on ἀμβρίζειν.

Appendix II: The Inscriptions of Mt. Lykaion (I-MTL)⁸²⁹

I-MTL 1

Description: Stele Commemorating the betrayal of Aristokrates I, purported to be of the seventh century B.C., in fact ca. 370 B.C.

Location: Temenos, Mt. Lykaion, Arcadia.

Editions and Texts: Polyb. 4.22.2-3 = Callisthenes *FGrH* 124 F 23, Paus. 4.22.7.

Text:

Οἱ γὰρ Μεσσήνιοι πρὸς ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
Λυκαίου βωμὸν ἀνέθεσαν στήλην ἐν τοῖς κατ' Ἀριστομένην καιροῖς,
καθάπερ καὶ Καλλισθένης φησί, γράψαντες τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο:

Πάντως ὁ χρόνος εὔρε δίκην ἀδίκῳ βασιλῇ,
Εὔρε δὲ Μεσσήνη σὺν Διὶ τὸν προδότην ῥηιδίως.
Χαλεπὸν δὲ λαθεῖν θεὸν ἄνδρ' ἐπίορκον.
Χαῖρε, Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σάῳ Ἀρκαδίαν.

Apparatus Criticus

2 Μεσσήνης Paus. 4.22.7.

I-MTL 2

Description: Restored right bronze greave decorated with a bird's head and neck (perhaps a crane), snakes, and S-shaped volutes executed in repoussé with engraved detail. A short inscription is preserved along the bottom exterior surface. Dimensions: height, 0.39 m; width 0.12 m; thickness 0.002 m. Letters: height 0.006-0.007 m. Discovered below the Ash Altar at Mt. Lykaion, ca. 500 B.C.

Location: Athens, Greece. National Archaeological Museum (Inventory Number NM X 13220).

Editions and Texts: Kourouniotis 1904, coll. 209-211, pl. 26; Hiller von Gaertringen *IG* V, 2.551; Lazzarini 1976, p. 193, no. 106; Dubois 1986, vol. 2, p. 307; Kunze 1991, p. 113 no. C, 129-130 no. 15.

⁸²⁹ The literature cited under 'Editions and Texts' and 'Studies' is meant to provide the reader with references to the most important editions and studies pertaining to the theme of this dissertation.

Studies: Papachatzis 1980, p. 346, n. 354; Datsouli-Stavridi 1999, pp. 33-36; Sinn 2007, p. 182, n. 20.

Text:

. 3-4 .]ελίδας ἀνέ[θεκε Λυκαῖοι Διὶ καὶ Ἀθάναι

Apparatus Criticus

Εὐτ]ελίδας ἀνέ[θεκε τῷ Λυκαίῳ καὶ τ]αὶ Ἀθάναι Kour., -ελίδας ἀνέ[θεκε Διὶ καὶ Ἀθάναι HvG, [--]ελίδας ἀνέ[θυσε τ]αὶ Ἀθάναι Lazz.,]ελίδας ἀνέ[θεκε Διὶ καὶ Ἀθάναι Dubois, . .]ελίδας ἀνέ[θεκε τ]αὶ Ἀθάναι Kunze.

I-MTL 3

Description: Inscribed bronze tablet. Three preserved fragments, all without recorded measurements. List of officials of the Arcadian League discovered near the Administrative Building at Mt. Lykaion, 360s B.C.

Location: Lost.

Editions and Texts: Kourouniotis 1909, p. 196, with photo at fig. 13; Hiller von Gartringen 1911, p. 359, n. 2; Hiller von Gaertringen *IG* V, 2.548, with photo at pl. III.

Studies: Veligianni-Terzi 1977, pp. 110-111.

Text:

Fragments a-b

1 ΑΡΚΑΔΩΝΚ.	1 Ἀρκάδων κ.[- - - - -]
2 ΔΑΜΙΟΡΓΟΣ	2 δαμιοργός, [ὁ δεῖνα Μεγαλοπολίτας, ὁ δεῖνα]
3 ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠ	3 Μεγαλοπ[ολίτας, ὁ δεῖνα Μεγαλοπολί-]
4 ΤΑΣΝΙΚΟΣΤ	4 τας, Νικόστ[ρατος Μεγαλοπολίτας, ὁ δεῖνα Μεγα]-
5 ΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΣ	5 λοπολίτας, [ὁ δεῖνα Μεγαλοπολ] ίτα [ς, - - -]
6 ΚΛΕΑΣΤΕΓ	6 κλέας Τεγ[εάτας, - - -] ας Τ [εγεάτας?, ὁ δεῖνα]
7 ΦΑΡΕΑΤ	7 Φαρε ά τ[ας, ὁ δεῖνα] Μα ν [τινεύς?, ὁ δεῖνα Κυν]-
8 ΟΥΡΙΟ	8 ούριο[ς, - - - - -]
9 ΑΠΟΛ	9 Ἀπολ[- - - - -]

Fragment c

ΙΤΑ
ΑΣΤ
ΜΑΝ

Apparatus Criticus

The only other complete text is *IG V*, 2.548; I print it in full below. In Hiller von Gaertringen 1911, p. 359, n. 2, line 1 is supplemented as Ἀρκάδων κ[οινῶ, line 2 as δαμιοργοί. Note that *IG V*, 2.548 does not include Fragment C in the published text:

- - - - -
Ἀρκάδων Κλ - s. Κα - -
δαμιοργός, ὁ δεῖνα
Μεγαλοπ[ολίτας, ὁ δεῖνα Μεγαλοπολί]-
5 τας, Νικόστ[ρατος Μεγα]-
λοπολίτας, - - - -
κλέας Τεγ[εάτας, ὁ δεῖνα]
Φαρεάτ[ας, ὁ δεῖνα - -],
Οὔριο[- - - - -]
Ἀπολ - - - - -

I-MTL 4

Description: Stele of white marble broken in three pieces; now bonded together. Top decorated with a molding; dimensions: height, 0.06 m; width, 0.42 m; thickness, 0.08 m. Dimensions of stone: height, 0.71 m; width, 0.41 m; thickness, 0.08 m. Broken at bottom. Between molding and the beginning of inscribed area is a gap of 0.025 m. Letters: height, 0.013 m (Lines 1-22), non-*stoichedon*; 0.008-0.017 m (Lines 23-36), non *stoichedon*, 0.01 m left margin; 0.008-0.01 m (Lines 37-43), *stoichedon* 19. After Line 36 is a gap of 0.015-0.02 m before the next inscribed line, partially filled by τῶ Διός. List of victors at the Lykaian Games, discovered reused in a Byzantine floor associated with the Administrative Building at Mt. Lykaion, 320-312 B.C.

Location: Athens, Greece. Epigraphical Museum (Inventory Number EM 327).

Editions and Texts: Kourouniotes 1905, coll. 167-178, with photo at fig. 5.1; Hiller von Gaertringen *IG V*, 2.549; Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ 314A (*IG V*, 2).

Studies: Klee 1918, pp. 32-33, 66-68; Datsouli-Stavridi 1999, pp. 33-34; Nielsen 1999; Nielsen 2002; Romano 2005.

Text:

Ἐπὶ ἱε[ρ]εῖ Ἐυκαμπίδαι Ἑσ[φ]αντίδ-
αι Λυκαιονίκαι· τελέαι συνωρ-
ίδι Δαμέας Τίμωνος Ἀλεῖος, τε-
θρίπποι πωλίκωι Εὐπόλεμος Δ-

- 5 ἀμίδος Ἀρκάς, τελέωι τεθρίπποι
Χιονίδας Εὐαινέτω Ἀρκάς, ἵπ-
ποι κέλετι Φιλόνικος Φιλονίκ-
ω Ἀργεῖος, Θεοτήλες Νικασίππω
στάδιον παῖδας Ἀρκάς, Θρασύδ-
10 ημος Θεάρο ν' Ἀθηναῖος πάλαν π-
αῖδας, Νικίας Μνασίαν παῖδας πυ-
γμ[.]αν Ἀρκάς, Ἀρίσστιππος Ἀριστ-
οκλέους ἄνδρας δόλιχον Ἀρκάς, Λ-
υσίλοχος Περίλα ἄνδρας στάδιον Ἀ-
15 ργεῖος, Δείνων Δεινίαν ἄνδρας δίαυλο-
ν' Ἀρκάς, Ἀριστομένης Ἀριστεός πάλ-
αν ἄνδρας Ἀργεῖος, Ἀγησίστρα[τ]ος Περί-
λα πένταθλον Ἀργεῖος, Ἀνδρόμαχος Λυ-
σιάνακτος ἀν[δ]ρῶν πυγμ[.]ήν Ἀλεῖος,
20 Ἀντήνωρ Ξενάρεος Μιλήσιος ἄνδρ-
ας πανκράτιον, ὀπλίταν Πάντιχ-
ος Λεόντιος Ἀρκάς. *vacat*
Λυκαίον[ῖ]καί ἐπὶ Ἀγ[γ]ίαι ἱερεῖ τῷ Πανός
ἄνδρας δόλ[ι]χον Ἀρίσ[τ]ιππος Ἀριστοκλέος Ἀρ-
25 κάς, παῖδας στάδ[ι]ον Δεινίας Λαάνδρου Ἀρκάς,
ἄνδρας στάδιον Ἀριστόδαμος Ἀριστόμαχου Ἀρ-
γεῖος, ἄνδρας δίαυλον Ἀρχέδαμος Ἀρχία Ἀργεῖος,
ἄνδρας πένταθλον Ἀνδρόβιος Εὐδαμίδα Λα-
κεδαιμόνιος, ἄνδρας ὀπλίταν Ἀμύνανδρος Πε-
30 ριάνδρου Ἀκαρνάν, παῖδας πάλαν Αἰσαγένης
Ἀγαθία Ἀρκάς, ἄνδρας πάλαν Σελείδας Ἀλεξαν-
δρίδα Λακεδαιμόνιος, παῖδας πυγμὴν Δύλλος
Ἐπιγόνω Ἀρκάς, ἄνδρας πυγμὴν Διεύχης Ξενοστράτου
Ἀρκάς, ἄνδρας παγκράτιον Εὐάνωρ Εὐάρχω Ἀρκάς
35 τελέαι συνωρίδι Ἀμφαίνετος Πεδαρέτω Ἀρκάς,
ἵπποι κέλῃτι Πασικλῆς Ἀ[σ]ίντου Λακεδαιμόνιος
τῷ Διδος
Ἐπὶ Ξενοστράτῳ ἱερεῖ
Λυκαίων[ῖ]καί ἄνδρας δό-
λιχον Πισταγόρας Δαιλ-
40 [ό]χῳ Ἀ[ρ]κ[α]άς, παῖδας <σ>τάδιο-
[v]ς Τελευτιάδα [.]
[.] ἄνδρας <σ>τάδ[ι]ον
[. Π?]οῦε[.]
multa desunt

Apparatus Criticus

1 ἐπὶ HvG, Ἐπὶ Kour. ἱερεῖ HvG, Kour. 2-3 Ἐσ[φ]αντίδαν HvG, Ἐσ. ντίδαι Kour. 10 HvG emended Θεάρο to Θεαίου, Θεάρο Kour. 15 πάλαν HvG, Kour. Ἀγησίστρατος HvG, Kour. 18 πένταθλον HvG, Kour. 20 Ξενάρεος HvG, Ξενάγεος Kour. 19 πανκράτιον HvG, Kour. 22 Λεόντ<ι>ος (Λεόντ{ι}ος in the Leiden Conventions) Kour. 23 Λυκαίοις ἐνίκων ἐπ' Ἀγίαι ἱερεῖ τῷ Πανός HvG, Λυκαίων[ἱκαί ἐπὶ . . .]αι ἱερεῖ Kour. 24 δόλιχον Ἀρίστιππος HvG, Kour. 25 στάδιον HvG, Kour. 27 δίαυλον HvG, Kour. 28 πένταθλον HvG, Kour. 33 Ἐπιγονῶ HvG || Ἐπιγένω Kour. πυγμᾶν HvG, Kour. 34 πανκράτιον HvG, Kour. 35 Ἀμφαίνετος HvG, Kour. 37 τῷ Διὸς HvG. 39 Πισταγόρας HvG, . ιστατορα . Kour. 39-40 Δαιλ | ὄχ]ω HvG, . λια | [Kour. 40 Ἀ[ρκ]άς HvG,]ας Kour. 40-41 παῖδας στάδιο | [ν HvG, παῖδας <σ>τάδιο[v] Kour. 41]ς Τελευτία Kour. 42 ἄνδρας στά[διον] HvG,]νδρα(ς) (<σ> in the Leiden Conventions) στά[διον]. 43 γε . ῶ HvG.

Epigraphical Commentary

38: In ἄνδρας δό-, the Σ is squeezed into the space immediately next to the second A, resulting in a temporary break in the *stoichedon*.

40-41: There is only one Σ between the final A of παῖδας and the T of <σ>τάδιο-[v]. Inserting the extra Σ results in 20 letters for Line 40, something not permissible by the *stoichedon*.

41-42: Cautiously supplemented in a note by HvG to ν | [Ἀργεῖος]?. I see no reason to insert a ν.

42: In ἄνδρας <σ>τάδ[ιον], only a small portion of the apex of the A is visible, while more of the apex of the Δ survives. As in line 40, the engraver has left out a Σ. I see no trace of the “*alterum Σ postea insertum*” of HvG.

I-MTL 5

Description: Stele of white marble. Dimensions: height, 0.75 m; width, 0.46 m; thickness 0.155 m. Broken at top and bottom. Lines 1-8 are arranged in three columns, with each entry consisting of a personal name or office. Letters: height, 0.01-0.015 m (Lines 1-8); 0.02 m (Line 9); 0.015 m (Lines 10-33). Line 16 is a *vacat* running across the width of the stone, height 0.025 m. After Line 33 is an unscribed area: height, 0.07 m (max). The stone breaks off from here. List of victors at the Lykaian Games, discovered reused in a Byzantine floor associated with the Administrative Building at Mt. Lykaion, 308-304 B.C.

Location: Ano Karyes, Greece, Laographic Museum.

Editions and Texts: Kourouniotis 1905, coll. 167-178, with photo (squeeze) at fig. 5.1; Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG V*, 2.550, with photo (squeeze) at pl. IV; Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ 314B (after Hiller von Gaertringen).

Studies: Klee 1918, pp. 32-33, 66-68; Preuner 1922, pp. 102-103; Moretti, 1957, no. 483; Kempen 1992; Loucas-Durie 1992, pp. 92-93; Datsouli-Stavridi 1999, pp. 33-34; Nielsen 2000; Nielsen 2002; Criscuolo 2003; Romano 2005.

Text:

Unclear how many lines are missing

	[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]	[. .] ς
	[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]	τόξαρχος
	[- - - - -]	[. .4-5. .]	λοχος Ἀλέξαρχος
	[- - - - -]	[.]	ἵππαρχος
5	[- - - - -]	[Α]ντιφάης	Κερκίδας
	[- - - - -]	Ἀναξικράτης	γροφεὺς
	[- - - - -]	Ἀγησίας	δαμιοργῶν
	[- - - - -]	ας Ὀνάσιμος	Ἑστάτας
		[Ἐπὶ ἱ]ερεῖ Ἀγησιστράτῳ Πανός.	
10		[Θε]ὸς Λυκαιονίκα· συνωρίδι Λάγος Πτολεμ- [αί]ου Μακεδών, πωλικῶι τεθρίπῳι Δαμ[ό]- λυτος Ἀλεξιμένεος Ἀλεῖος, κέλητι Ὀν[ο]- μαντος Ἐρυμάνθου Ἀργεῖος, τελέῳι τε- θρίπῳι Ἐπαίνετος Σιλανοῦ Μακεδῶ-	
15		ν, ἄνδρας δόλιχον Ἀγεὺς Ἀριστοκλέο<ς> <i>vacat</i>	
		[Ν]ῆκαι Λυκαίοις ἐπὶ {ε} ἱερεῖ Ἀεθίοι {δόλιχον Ἀργεῖος} στάδιον παίδων Τελλίας Ἀρκὰς <i>vacat</i>	
20		στάδιον ἄνδρας Μακεδῶν Ἡρά- [κ]λειτος, πένταθλον Ἀρκὰς Ἀλεξίβιος, δόλιχον ἄνδρας Φιλιστίδας Ἀργεῖος, δίανυλον ἄνδρας Φιλοκράτης Συρακόσιος, παίδων πάλαν Θεοτέλης Ἀρκὰς,	
25		[παί]δας πύξ Θεογείτων Ἀρκὰς, ἄνδρας πάλαν Ἀριστόδαμος Ἀργεῖος, ἄνδρας πύξ Τιμόδωρος Ἀρκὰς, [παγ]κράτιον ἄνδρας Ἀριστώνυμος Ἀργεῖος, ὀπλίταν Φιλοκράτης Συρακόσιος,	
30		συνωρίδι τελέαι Ῥόδιος Νικαγόρας τεθρίπ<π>ῳι πωλικῶι Θεαρ[ί]δας κέλ[ητ]ι Ἀριστοτέλης Λακεδαιμόνιος τεθρίπῳι τελέῳι Βούβαλος ἐκ Κασσανδρεΐα[ς]	

Apparatus Criticus

1-2 Not read by Kour. or HvG. 3 [Εὐ]ρύλοχος HvG, [Λυσ?]ίλοχος Kour. Ἀλέξανδρος HvG, Kour., but cf. Kour., col. 172: “Ο ἵππαρχος (ιδ. στίχ. 2) εἶνε συνήθης ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι, ἀλλ’ ἐν τούτοις εἶνε βέβαιον, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα ἡ λέξις χρησιμεύει ὡς ὄνομα κύριον προσώπου, διότι εἶναι τεθειμένη μεταξὺ δύο προφανῶς κυρίων ὀνομάτων (Ἀλέξαρχος-Κερκίδας).” 4 . . . λης HvG, . . . λης Kour. 5 Ἀντιφάης HvG, Kour. Κερκιδᾶς HvG. 8 Ὀνάσιλος HvG. 9 [Ἐπὶ] ἱερῇ HvG, Kour. 10 [Θ]εὸς HvG, Kour. 11 αἴου HvG, Kour. Δαμό- HvG, Kour. 12 Ὀνο- HvG, Kour. 17 Νῖκαι HvG, Kour. ἐπ’ ἱε{ἱε}ρεῖ HvG, ἐπὶ {ε}ἱερῇ Kour. Ἀεθίοι(?) HvG, Ἀεθ[λ]ίοι Wilamowitz, Ἀεοιοι(?) Kour. 21 κλειτος HvG, Kour. 25 παῖδας HvG, [παῖδ]ας Kour. 28 πανκράτιον HvG, Kour. 31 τεθρίππῳ HvG, Kour. Θεαρίδας HvG, Kour. 32 κέλ[ητ]ι Ἀριστοτέλης Λακεδαιμόνιος is omitted by HvG and therefore absent from most of the literature, κέλητι Kour. 33 κέλητι τελέῳ HvG. Κασσανδρείας HvG, Kour.

I-MTL 6

Description: Marble stele with no recorded dimensions. List of victors at the Lykaian Games discovered near the Hemicycle Building at Mt. Lykaion, unknown date.

Location: Lost.

Editions and Texts: Kourouniotis 1909, p. 198.

Text: We have only a description of the find spot and contents of this inscription. I print here the relevant text from Kourouniotis, with an English translation:

Πλησίον τοῦ ἡμικυκλικοῦ οἰκοδομήματος εὐρέθησαν καὶ αἱ λίθιναι βάσεις δύο χαλκῶν ἀγαλμάτων φυσικοῦ μεγέθους ἄνευ ἐπιγραφῶν, καὶ ἓν τμήμα μαρμαρίνης στήλης, ἣτις ἔφερε τελείως ἐφθαρμένην ἐπιγραφὴν Λυκαιονικῶν.

Near the hemicycle building two stone bases for life-size bronze statues were also discovered. These were uninscribed. Also found was one part of a marble stele with a very badly damaged inscription listing victors in the Lykaian Games.

I-MTL 7

Description: Statue base with an inscription in elegiacs. When Pausanias saw the base the statue was no longer in situ.

Location: Undiscovered.

Editions and Texts: Paus. 8.38.5.

Text:

Ἦσσι δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἀνδριάντων βάθρα, οὐκ ἐπόντων ἔτι ἀνδριάντων· ἐλεγείον δὲ
ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων ἐνὶ Ἀστυάνακτός φησιν εἶναι τὴν εἰκόνα, τὸν δὲ Ἀστυάνακτα
εἶναι γένος τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀρκάδος.

I-MTL 8

Description: Stamped roof tile from the Ash Altar of Zeus Lykaïos, fourth century B.C.

Location: Lost.

Editions and Texts: Kourouniotis 1904, col. 164; Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG V*, 2.552.

Text:

AP
OEI

I-MTL 9

Description: Roof tiles discovered in the hippodrome and Lower Sanctuary of Zeus Lykaïos, Mt. Lykaion, undated. For 14: dimensions, 0.32 m length, 0.17 m width, 0.025 m thickness.

Location: Lost. For 14: Tripolis, Greece. Archaeological Museum.

Editions and Texts: Kourouniotis 1909, pp. 195 and 199; Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG V*, 2.553; Romano and Voyatzis 2015, p. 214-215, no. 2, with photo at fig. 11.

- 1) Ἀπελλί. δα(μόσιον).
- 2) - κλείδας δα(μόσιον).
- 3) ΙΣΟΔ
- 4) [ἐπ]ὶ Ἀπελλι. δα(μόσιον).
- 5) Ἀρισ - -
Θε - -
- 6-7) . . . ἀπος. δα(μόσιον)
Ἀριστοκ(λ)ης.
- 8) ΑἰΩ
Θ ΔΜ
- 9) [ἐπὶ ἀγω]νοθέτ[αι - -].
- 10) [ἐπὶ -]άρει. Μα - -

- 11) ἐπὶ Ἴσοδ[- - - Τι]-
μομά[χου].
12) Part of another like 11
13) Νικίππου
14) E

Notes

- 8) In the second line, the Δ is ligatured with an alpha, so that we have δα(μόσιον).

I-MTL 10

Description: Inscribed bronze cymbal, acquired from the region of Dimitsana or Messenia. Dimensions: height, 0.02 m; diameter, 0.094 m; thickness 0.006 m; diameter of opening in center, 0.004m. Letters: height, 0.0015-0.013 m. Dedication of Kamo to Kore, perhaps from a Parrhasian sanctuary, sixth century B.C.

Location: Athens, Greece. National Archaeological Museum (Inventory Number NM X 7959).

Editions and Texts: Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG V*, 2.554; Buck 1955, no. 16; Dubois 1986, vol. 2, pp. 292-293; Lazzarini 1976, no. 111.

Studies: *SEG* 11 1161; Ortega Villaro 1996.

Text:

Καμὸ ὑνέθυσσε τᾷ Κόρφαι.

I-MTL 11

Description: Bronze statuette of a shepherd wearing a *pilos*. Dimensions: height, 0.10 m. Inscription on the base. From the region of Andritsena. Dedication of Phauleas to Pan, perhaps from Berekla, ca. 500 B.C.

Location: New York City, USA. Metropolitan Museum of Art (Inventory Number Acc. No. 08.258.7).

Editions and Texts: Richter 1915, pp. 39-40, no. 58, with photo; Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG V*, 2.555; Dubois 1986, vol. 2, p. 308.

Studies: Richter 1946; Hübinger 1992, 1993.

Text:

Φαυλέας ἀνέθυσσε τοῖ Πανί.

I-MTL 12

Description: Inscribed sherd from the sanctuary of Pan at Berekla, sixth century B.C.

Location: Lost.

Editions and Texts: Kourouniotis 1902; Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG V*, 2.556; Dubois 1986, vol. 2, pp. 307-308.

Studies: Hübinger 1992, 1993.

Text:

[ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθυ]σε τοῖ Πάονι.

I-MTL 13

Description: Small base inscribed to Pan at Berekla.

Location: Berekla?

Editions and Texts: Kourouniotis 1902, p. 74; Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG V*, 2.557; Dubois 1986, vol. 2, pp. 308.

Studies: Hübinger 1992, 1993.

Text:

Πανός.

I-MTL 14

Description: Bronze statuette of a shepherd wearing a *pilos* and holding a lamb.
Dimensions: height, 0.092 m. Inscription on the base. Dedication of Aineas to Pan, perhaps from Berekla, sixth century B.C.

Location: New York City, USA. Metropolitan Museum of Art (Inventory Number 43.11.3).

Editions and Texts: Richter 1944, p. 5, no. 2, with photo at figs. 11-15; *SEG* 11 1043; Lazzarini 1976, no. 359.

Text:

Πανὶ Αἰνέας.

Studies: Richter 1946.

I-MTL 15

Description: Limestone base inscribed to Hermes, perhaps originally located on the border between Messene and Megalopolis (cf. Paus 8.35.2)

Location: Souli, Greece.

Editions and Texts: Hiller von Gaetringen, *IG V*, 2.558.

Text:

Ἑρμείας.

I-MTL 16

Description: Bronze bull discovered at Bathyrevma (Bathos), at the sanctuary of the Great Goddesses.

Location: Unknown.

Editions and Texts: Bather and Yorke 1892-1893, p. 228; Hiller von Gaetringen, *IG V*, 2.512.

Text:

ἱερ(ός).

I-MTL 17a-b

Description: (a) Limestone block inscribed with large letters (height, 0.037 m) on a raised band above. Discovered at Tsouraki on northern Mt. Lykaion. Prohibition of entrance to an unidentified sanctuary in the vicinity of Thisoa, undated. (b) Inscribed stele discovered in the vicinity of Tsouraki. Dedication by Latropos, third century B.C.

Location: Tsouraki, Greece.

Editions and Texts: (a) *SEG* 49 454. (b) Dubois 1986, vol. 2, p. 310.

Text:

- a)
[ἰν τὸ ἱερ]ὸν μὴ πα[ριέν].
- b)
Λάτροπος
ἀνέθεκε.

I-MTL 18

Description: Cylindrical altar. Dimensions: height, 0.40 m; diameter, 0.38 m. Discovered at Tegea. Dedicated to Pan Lykeios Prokathegetas, second century A.D.

Location: Tegea, Greece.

Editions and Texts: Hiller von Gaetringen, *IG V*, 2.93.

Text:

Πανὸς προκαθη-
Λυκείου γέτου.

I-MTL 19

Description: Bronze ingot, weight 730 g. Dedication of a woman named Trygon to Zeus Lykaeos in Sicily, fifth century B.C.

Location: Termini Imerese, Sicily.

Editions and Texts: *IG XIV* 597, with drawing.

Studies: Manganaro 1990, with drawing at pl. LXXXIX, 5.

Text:

Διὸς Λυκα(ίου)
Τρυγόν.

I-MTL 20

Description: Statue of a jackal seated on its haunches in black granite. Dimensions: height, 0.44 m; breadth, 0.16 m; depth, 0.45 m; height of base, 0.09 m. Inscription on

front of base. Letters: height, 0.011-0.017 m. Dedication to Apollo Lykaeos at Luxor by Theomnestos, son of Nikias, ca. 200 B.C.

Location: Luxor, Egypt.

Editions and Texts: Milne 1905, no. 9276, with photo.

Text:

Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκαίῳ
Θεόμνηστος Νικίου.

I-MTL 21

Description: Monument base of blue limestone with cuttings for a bronze statue, broken to right. Dimensions: height, 0.28 m; width at front, 0.70 m; width at back 0.75 m; thickness 0.54 m. Letters: height, 0.014-0.018 m, *stoichedon* on a grid where each *stoichos* is 0.015 m x 0.01 m. Victory list of Dorieus of Rhodes, ca. 370 B.C.

Location: Delphi, Greece. Archaeological Site of Delphi (Inventory Number 2526).

Editions and Texts: *CIG* 1715; Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ 82; Moretti 1953, no. 23.

Studies: Amandry 1980, pp. 220-226.

Text:

Ὀλύμπια τρίς, Πύθια τετράκις
Ἴσθμια ὀκτάκις, Νέμεα ἐπτάκις,
Παναθήναια τετράκις, Ἀσκληπίεια
τετράκις, Ἑκατόμβοια τρίς,
5 Λύκεια τρίς.

Apparatus Criticus

1 Ὀλύμπια *CIG*. Πύθια *CIG*. τετράκις *CIG*. 2 Ἴσθμια *CIG*.

Epigraphical Commentary

1: Left half of M is preserved, with 0.012 m upright and 0.005 m diagonal. I do not read the A in Πύθια, nor the I in τετράκις. The I in Πύθια is partially preserved, with an upright stroke of 0.008 m.

2: The M of Ἴσθμια is legible.

I-MTL 22

Description: Blue limestone base. Dimensions: height, 0.261 m; width, 0.734 m; thickness, 0.58 m. Letters: height, 0.015 m-0.02 m. Victory list of Prateas, son of Aischylos and Aischylos, son of Prateas, third quarter of the fourth century B.C.

Location: Argos, Greece. Argos Archaeological Museum (Inventory Number E 55; reported as lost by museum staff).

Editions and Texts: Daux (report by Charneux) in *BCH* 81, 1957, p. 684, with photo at pl. XIX; *SEG* 17 150.

Studies: Amandry 1980, pp. 220-226.

Text:

	Πρατέας	Αἰσχύλου
	πάλαν	Λύκαια
	Ἰθμία	Νεμέαια
	παρ' Ἡραι	Παναθάναια
5	Νεμέαια	Νεμέαια
	ἐμ Μαινάλωι	Πύθια ἐν Δελφοῖς
	Ἰθμία.	
	Αἰσχύλος Πρατέα	
	Νεμέαι πάλαν.	

I-MTL 23

Description: Base of white limestone inscribed on three faces (a, b, c). Dimensions: height, 0.246 m; width, 0.58 m; thickness, 0.335 m. Letters: height, 0.03 m, *stoichedon* 10 (a); 0.052-0.072 m, non *stoichedon* (b); 0.009-0.012 m, non *stoichedon* (c). Victory list of Kleainetos, son of Epikrates, third quarter of the fourth century B.C.

Location: Argos, Greece. Argos Archaeological Museum (Inventory Number E 42).

Editions and Texts: Charneux 1985, pp. 357-375; *SEG* 35 267.

Studies: Moretti in *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* 1987, p. 84.

Text:

a)

Κλεαίνετος

Ἐπικράτεος

b)

ΠΕ

c)

[--- | --- | ---]ΑΠΑΛΛΑΕ[- - 4.7 cm - -]P.AIE
[--- | --- | - || υί]ῶι Ἐπικράτεος
[--- | --- | - Κλ]εαίνεταιοι εἰς ἔριν ἔλθ[ω]ν
[--- | --- | - || ---].ο καὶ μεγέθει
5 [--- | --- | ---] Πύθια ἐξάκι δρόμοι
[--- | - Νεμέ]ας θηροτρόφωι τεμένει
[--- | --- | -]σι δρυοστεφάνοις τε Λυκαίοις
[--- | - Ἄργου]ς χαλκὸν ἐσαγάγετο
[--- | --- | -]ι Ἀσκληπίου εἵλετο δῶρον
10 [- - | ὀπλ]ίταν στέψατο καὶ στάδιον
[--- | ---] ἔδεκτο δόμοις κειμήλια θέσθαι
[--- | ---]τας Ἰναχίδαις ἔφερε.

Notes

The Π in ΠΕ of b is ligatured with another letter through a crossbar connecting the middle sections of the two verticals. Perhaps πε[ρίοδος] or πε[ριοδονίκης]?

Apparatus Criticus

2 υί]ῶι Charn. 4]το καὶ Charn. 9]ι Ἀσκληπίου Charn. 10 ὀπ]λίταν Charn.

Epigraphical Commentary

2: The Ω in υί]ῶι is very badly damaged.

4: I see no trace of Charneux's τ. Rather, I only see 0.006 m of a horizontal stroke along the bottom of the line, as if it were the bottom stroke of an epsilon.

9: The I that starts the line is very worn and nearly illegible.

10: I see no traces of the Λ read by Charneux.

I-MTL 24

Description: Block of Lartian marble that forms the right half of a large base without molding. Above cuttings for a statue. Dimensions: height, 0.398 m; width 1.044 m; thickness, 0.685 m. Letters: height, 0.01-0.015 m. Victory list of Nikagoras, son of Nikon, ca. 300-290 B.C.

Location: Lindos, Greece. Archaeological Site of Lindos.

Editions and Texts: Blinkenberg, *Lindos* II, no. 68, with photo.

Text:

Νικαγορας Νικωνος Αθαναιαι Λινδιαι νικεων
Ολυμπια συνωριδι τελειαι κελητι τελειωι
[Πυ]θια αρματι τελειωι
5 Ισθμια αρματι τελειωι κελητι τελειωι συνωριδι πωλικαι
Νεμεα αρματι τελειωι συνωριδι τελειαι κελητι τελειωι
Παναθηναια αρματι πωλικωι
Εκατομβοια αρματι τελειωι
Πυθια εν Σικυωνι αρματι πωλικωι συνωριδι τελειαι κελητι
Λυκαια συνωρι<δι> τε[λειαι].
10 [ε]ποιησε.

Notes

I have not seen this stone. I print the text and description of Blinkenberg, who does not include accents.

I-MTL 25

Description: Limestone base built into the foundations of the scaena of the theater.
Dimensions: height, 0.27 m; width 1.10 m. Victory list of Kallistratos, son of Philothales, of Sikyon, ca. 260-220 B.C.

Location: Sikyon, Greece. Archaeological Site of Sikyon.

Editions and Texts: *IG* IV 428; Moretti 1953, no. 40.

Studies: Klee 1918, pp. 54-55; Marcadé 1957, p. 129, with photo at pl. XLVII, 6; Cabanes 1988; Sève 1991; Mylonopoulos 2003, pp. 44-45, 310-311.

Text:

	1 Καλλίστρατος Φιλοθάλεος	
	παῖδας· Βασίλεια πάλαν	Ἴσθμια ἀγενεῖους καὶ ἄνδρας πυ[γμᾶν]
	Λύκαια παγκράτιον	τᾷ αὐτᾷ Ἴσθμιάδι
	Ἴσθμια παγκράτιον	Νέμεα παγκράτιον
5	Παναθήναια πυγμᾶν	Νέμεα παγκράτιον
	Νέμεα πυγμᾶν	Νέμεα πυγμᾶν καὶ παγκράτιον

Ἀσκλαπίεια παγκράτιον	τῶι αὐτῶι Νεμεάδι
Νῆα πάλαν καὶ πυγμὰν	Ἰσθμια πυγμὰν
καὶ παγκράτιον	Πυθοῖ πυγμὰν
10 Ῥεία πάλαν καὶ πυ[γμ]ὰν	Λύκαια [πυ]γ[μ]ὰν δῖς
[καὶ] παγκράτιον	[Ῥί]ε[ια πάλαν κ]αὶ πυγμὰν καὶ
	[παγκράτιον].
Θοινίας Τεισ[ικράτους ἐποίησε].	

Notes

I have not seen this stone. I print the text and description found in Moretti.

I-MTL 26

Description: Two blocks (a and b) reused in later construction at Tegea. Victory list of Damatrios of Tegea, ca. 200 B.C.

Location: Lost.

Editions and Texts: Hiller von Gartringen, *IG V*, 2.148.

Text:

a) Δαμάτριος Ἀριστίππου Ὀλύμπια παῖδας στάδιον, Νέμεα παῖδας δόλιχον, Ἀσκλαπίεια παῖδας δόλιχον, 5 Ἀλέαια παῖδας δόλιχον, Λύκαια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Νέμεα ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Ἐκοτόμβοια ἄνδρας δόλι- χον ἵππιον, 10 Ἰσθμια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Ἀλέαια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Πύθια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Ὀλύμπια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Βασίλεια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, 15 Ἰσθμια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Νέμεα ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Λύκαια <ᾗ>νδρας δόλιχον, Ἀλέ<αι>α ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Νέμεα ἄνδρας δόλιχον, 20 Λύκαια ἄνδρας δόλιχον,	Ἀλέαια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, Ἐκοτόμβοια ἄνδρας δόλιχον ἵππιον, Ἰσθμια ἄνδρας δόλιχον, [Λύκαια ἄνδρας δόλιχον], 25 [Πύθια ἄνδρας δόλιχον], [Βασίλεια ἄνδρας δόλιχον], b) Δαμάτριος Ἀριστίππου Ὀλύμπια παῖδας στάδιον, Νέμεα παῖδας δόλιχον, 30 Ἀσκληπίεια παῖδας δόλιχον, Ἀλέαια παῖδας δόλιχον, Λύκαια ἄνδρας δόλιχον τετράκις, Νέμεα ἄνδρας δόλιχον τρίς, Ἐκατόμβοια ἄνδρας δόλιχον ἵππιον δῖς, 35 Ἰσθμια ἄνδρας δόλιχον δῖς(!), Ἀλέαια ἄνδρας δόλιχον τρίς, Πύθια ἄνδρας δόλιχον δῖς, Ὀλύμπια ἄνδρας δόλιχον ἅπαξ, Βασίλεια ἄνδρας δόλιχον δῖς.
---	---

I-MTL 27

Description: Rectangular, cuboid limestone statue base inscribed on two faces (a and b). Dimensions: 0.50 m x 0.45 m (smaller faces); 0.555 m x 0.50 m (larger faces). Letters: height, 0.007-0.01 m. Margins on (a): 0.065 m above, 0.018 left, 0.01 m right. On (b), above is an inscribed edge; below, four crowns, of which three are inscribed. Victory list of an anonymous Argive runner, ca. 200 B.C.

Location: Argos, Greece. Argos Archaeological Museum (Inventory Number K 122 E 200).

Editions and Texts: Mitsos 1940, pp. 47-56, with photo at pls. 33-34; *SEG* 11 338; Moretti 1953, no. 45.

Studies: Robert and Robert 1941, pp. 246-247, no. 56; Bernardini 1976; Kotsidou 2000, no. 80.

Text:

a)

Ἦραια δίαυλον δίς, ὀπλίταν δίς· Βασίλεια ἄν-
δρας στάδι[ο]ν· Παναθήναια ἄνδρας δίαυλον·
[Ε]λευσίνια ὀπλίταν· [Π]τολ[εμ]αῖα ἐν Ἀθήναις
[π]αῖδας δίαυλον· Λύκαια ἄνδρας δίαυλον δίς·
5 Ἀμφιαράϊα τὰ μεγά[λ]α δίαυλον καὶ ὀπ[λ]ίτα[ν]·
Ἐλευθέρια ὀπλίτ[α]ν τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τροπαίου
[π]ρῶτος Ἀχαιῶν· Θερμικὰ στάδιον, ὀπλίταν·
Ἡράκλεια ἄνδρας δίαυλον· ἐν Σικυῶνι Πύθια
δίαυλον, ὀπλίταν· Σωτήρια παῖδας δίαυλον·
10 Λύκαια τῇ αὐτῇ ἀμέραι στάδιον, δίαυλον,
ὀπλίταν· ἐν Σικυῶνι δίαυλον, ὀπλίταν
[Α]ντιγόνεια ἄνδρας δίαυλον.

b)

[Ν]εμέα παῖδας στά[διον δία]υλον· Ὀλύμπια[- - - -]
ἄνδρας δίαυλ[ον τετρ]ά[κ]ις.

Wreath 1
ὀπλίταν

Wreath 2
[blank]

Wreath 3
Πύθια δίαυλον

Wreath 4
ῥισθμια
δίαυλον
πεντάκις

Apparatus Criticus

a)

2 [δ]ρας Mits. δίαυλον Mits. 3 [Ε]λευσίνια Mits. Ἀθήναι[ς] Mits. 4 [π]αῖδας Mits. 5 μεγ[άλ]α Mits. ὀπλίταν Mits. 6 Ἐλευθέρια Mits. 7 πρᾶτος Mits.

b)

1 [Ν]εμέα παῖδας στά[διον δία]υλ[ο]ν· Ὀλύμπια Mits. 2 ἄνδρας δίαυλ[ον . . .
.]ά[κ]ις Mits., ἄνδρας δίαυλ[ον τετρ?]ά[κ]ις Moretti.

Notes

Due to the way the stone was placed in the museum courtyard, I could not see Wreath 4. Accordingly, I print Mitsos' text.

Epigraphical Commentary

a)

2: The O in δίαυλον is barely legible.

3: The E in [Ε]λευσίνια is barely legible. The Σ in Ἀθήναις is only partially preserved, with 0.005 m of the lowest bar.

4: Only the two upper diagonal strokes (0.003 m) are preserved in the Δ of [π]αῖδας.

6: The Λ in Ἐλευθέρια is barely legible.

b)

1: The O and N of δία]υλον are only partially legible. There is a 0.045 cm uninscribed gap between δία]υλον and Ὀλύμπια[- - - -]. After Ὀλύμπια[- - - -], the surface is disturbed until the edge of the stone. There is room for approximately 10-12 letters.

I-MTL 28

Description: Victory List of Menodoros, son of Gnaios, ca. 135-130 B.C.

Location: Athens, Greece. Stoa of Attalos Research Center (Inventory Numbers I 382e, 3638 I 382, 9340 I 1315); Epigraphical Museum (Inventory Numbers EM 8734, 10589)

Editions and Texts: Meritt 1934, pp. 69-71, no. 65; Oliver and Dow 1935, pp. 81-90, no. 38, with photo at p. 85; *IG* II 1318, 1319; *IG* II² 3147, 3149a, 3150, 3154; Moretti 1953, no. 51; Meritt 1960, p. 56, no. 81, with photo at pl. 17.

Studies: Marcadé 1953, no. 16; Dow 1941; Cabanes 1988; *SEG* 38 178; Cabanes and Ceka, *I.Apollonia*, no. T 320.

Text:

See I-MTL 29 for the (slightly different) list from Delos that records the Lykaian victory.

I-MTL 29

Description: Stele of white marble (a) and white marble orthostate (b). Dimensions: (a) height, 0.36 m; length, 1.75 m; width, 1.09 m; (b) height, 0.91 m; width, 1.83 m; thickness, 0.30 m. Letters: (a) height, 0.02 m; (b) height, 0.01-0.02 m. Victory List of Menodoros, son of Gnaios, ca. 135-130 B.C.

Location: Delos, Greece. Archaeological Museum of Delos (Inventory Number E 51).

Editions and Texts: Bizard and Roussel 1907, p. 432, n. 25-26, with photo at fig. 3; Roussel and Launey, *I.Délos* 1957; Moretti 1953, no. 51; Cabanes and Ceka, *I.Apollonia*, no. T 320.

Studies: Cabanes 1988; Stephanis in *Ελληνικά* 39 (1988), pp. 270-290.

Text:

a)

Μηνόδορον Γναίου Ἀθηναῖον, νικήσαντα τὴν περίοδον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας,
Δημήτριος Ἀπολλοδότου Ἀντιοχεύς, Ἀπόλλωνι.

b)

Row I

Ἐλευσίγια	[Πανα- θήναια]	Ὀλύμπια	Σωτήρια	----	Νέμεα	Ἐ[λε]υ- σίγια	Νέμεα	Ἐλευσίγια
ἄνδρας	ἄνδρας	[ἄνδρας]	ἄνδρας	ἄνδρας	ἄνδρας	ἀγενεΐ- ους πά- λην	[ἄνδ]ρας	ἄνδρας
παγκρά- τιον	παγκρά- τιον	[πάλην]	παγκρά- τιον	παγκρά- τιον	πάλην		παγκρά- τιον	πάλην

Row 2								
Νέμεα	Ἡράκλεια τὰ ἐν Θήβαις	Πανα- θήναια	Δήλια τὰ ἐν Δήλῳ	Ῥωμαῖα τὰ ἐν Χαλκίδι	Ἡραῖα τὰ ἐν Ἀργεῖ	Λύκαια	Ἡράκλεια τὰ ἐν Θήβαις	Σωτήρια τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς
ἀγενεῖ- ους πά- λην	ἄνδρας παγκρά- τιον	ἄνδρας παγκρά- τιον	ἄνδρας πάλην	ἄνδρας παγκρά- τιον	ἄνδρας πάλην	ἄνδρας παγκρά- τιον	ἄνδρας παγκρά- τιον	ἄνδρας πάλην

2 more rows of victories and tributes.

Apparatus Criticus

Row 1: 4 Πύθια Stephanis. 5 [Ἰσθμια] Stephanis.

I-MTL 30

Description: Two fragments of a marble stele (a and b). Dimensions (a): height, 0.175 m; width, 0.20 m; thickness 0.045 m. Dimensions (b): height, 0.20 m; width, 0.23 m; thickness, 0.045 m. Letters: height, 0.004-0.01 m. Fragment (b) has been further damaged and much of the text is now obliterated, but it was copied in Paris when in better condition in 1883. Victory epigram in honor of the herald Zenobios (?), first century B.C.

Location: Delos, Greece. Archaeological Museum of Delos (Inventory Number: Γ 578 α β).

Editions and Texts: Roussel and Launey, *I.Délos* 2552; Peek 1941, pp. 414-416, n. 3; Peek in *SEG* 19 532.

Studies: Charneux 1985, p. 751; Clinton 1992, p. 129, no. 6; Knoepfler 2008 [2010].

Text:

- a)
- [- - - - -] IONEKΛYΘA[
 [- - - | - - - | -]. ωσα μενεῖ στεφ[άνου?]
 [- - - | - - -] ας ὀφιώδεος εἶλον . [| - -]
 [- - - | - - -] νας χεύμασιν ἐστεφόμ[ην].
- 5 [- - - Ἐλε]υθερίων τε καὶ ἐκ φηγοῖο Λυκαίω[v]
 [καὶ στέφανον] δρυμῶν ἄγαγον Ἀρκαδίας.
 [- - - | -] Δελφοί με κατέστεφον ἔρνεσι δάφνας.
 [- - - | -]. τρισσοὺς δ' ἦλθον ὑπὸ στεφάνους
 [- - - | - Φ]οῖβοιο μολὼν δ' εἰς γαίαν Ἐπει[ῶ]ν
- 10 [- - - ἀει]μνάστου θαλλὸν [Ὀλυμ]πίαδος.
] Λ . . . Λ . . O I Λ εἰς κλέ' Ἀλφ[εοῦ](?)
- b)
- Μάρτυς ἐφ' Ἐρκύννας χθ[ῶν? - - | - - - | -]

- καὶ στέφος Ἡράκλειος ἐπ' --- | --- | ---].
 τρισσὰ δ' Ἐρεχθιδᾶν Λ[--- | --- | ---]
 15 ἄγνὸν Ἐλευσίνος πρὸς ἀνάκ[τορον --- | ---]
 πενταετὴ Διοῦς ἦλθον [~ | --- | ---]
 καὶ Βάκχου τριετηρὶς εἰμα[~ | --- | ---]
 [---].ITAN καὶ Μουσᾶν στε[φ~ | --- | ---]
 [Π]οιμανδρῶν (?) γαίαν [~ | --- | --- | ---]
 20 [καὶ?] Παναθηναίων [--- | --- | ---]
 [---]όβιος δ' Ἑλλάσι φατιζόμενος? ~ | --- | ---]
 [κα]ρύκων παντᾷ δ' ἀ[μφι]τέθαλε κλέος.

Apparatus Criticus

1 [Ἑλλὰς ὅλη φωνᾶς θρόον εὔλυ]ρον ἔκλυεν [ἀμᾶς] Peek. 2 [δόξα δ' αἰμινάστων] ζῶσα μένει στεφ[άνων] Peek. 3 [μάντιος Ἀονί]ας ὀφιώδεος εἶλον ἀ[γῶνα] Peek. 4 [ἄθλα δ' Ἐλε]υθερίων τε καὶ ἐκ φηγοῖο Λυκαίων Peek. 5 Ἐλευθερίων *I.Délos*, [ἡδὲ παρ' Ἑρκύν]νας χεύμασιν ἐστεφόμε[αν] Peek. 6 [--- | ---] δρυμῶν ἄγαγον Ἀρκαδίας *I.Délos*, [καὶ Φεγεοῖ]ο δρυμῶν ἄγαγον Ἀρκαδίας Peek. 7 [καὶ Πυθοῖ] Δελφοί με κατέστεφον ἔρνεσι δάφνας Peek. 8 [εὐιέροι]ς· τρισσοὺς δ' ἦλθον ὑπὸ στεφάνους Peek. 9 [Φοίβοιο μολῶν δ' εἰς γαίαν] Ἐπει..[*I.Délos*, [ἐν νάσῳ] Φοίβοιο· μολῶν δ' εἰς γαίαν] Ἐπειῶν Peek. 10 Ὀλυμπιάδος *I.Délos*, [εἶλον αἰ]μινάστου θαλλὸν Ὀλυμπιάδος Peek. 11 Λ. . .Ο. .ΙΛΕΙΣΓΛΕΑΛ *I.Délos*, [καὶ δὲ κλυτῶν] τιμ[ᾶν] Ἡρα[ς] Ἥλειος ἄεθλο[ς] Peek. 12 μάρτυς· ἐφ' Ἑρκύννας χεύμασι δ' ἐστεφόμε[αν] Peek. 13 καὶ στέφος Ἡρακλῆος ἐπ[ὶ κροτάφοις θέτο Θήβα] Peek. 14 τρισσὰ δ' Ἐρεχθιδᾶν ἀ[γαγόμενα] ἄεθλα Peek. 15 ἄγνὸν Ἐλευσίνος πρὸς ἀνάκ[τορον ἀνίκ' ἰδέσθαι] Peek. 16 πενταετὴ Διοῦς ἦλθον [ἐγὼ τελετάν] Peek. 17 καὶ Βάκχου τριετηρὶς ἐμᾶ[ς τέχνας ἴδε νίκαν] Peek. 18 [κ]αὶ Ταν<ἀγρ>αι Μουσᾶν στέ[μματα δισσὰ λάβον] Peek. 19 [Π]οιμανδρίαν γαίαν [ἐλθὼν πάτρην τε Κορίννας] Peek. 20 [καὶ] Παναθηναίων [θαλλὸν ἔλον μεγάλων] Peek. 21 [Ζην]όβιος δ' Ἑλλάσι φατιζομαι ὁ [πράτιστος] Peek. 22 καρύκων, παντᾷ δ' ἀμφιτέθαλε κλέος Peek.

Epigraphical Commentary

- 2: Only 0.003 m of diagonal are preserved at the beginning of the line; perhaps A, Λ, Μ.
- 3: Only 0.002 m of a diagonal is preserved at the end of the line; perhaps A, Λ, Μ.
- 4: The right upward diagonal of the M is legible.
- 5: Only 0.001 m of the right side of the foot of the Y is legible.
- 6: The sigma is legible but in very poor condition.
- 7: 0.001 m of a horizontal at the top of the beginning of the line is preserved.
- 8: 0.001 m of the bottom of the left vertical of the N is legible.
- 11: The three lambdas are preserved only at the very top of the letter, allowing for A as an alternative reading. The K is highly obscure, represented by 0.0025 and

0.002 m strokes; a poorly inscribed Γ could also be possible. Only the very top of ἈΛ- survives (0.0035 diagonal strokes), so that one cannot be certain about the reading; the sequence could be ΛΛ or ΛΑ.

I-MTL 31

Description: Victory list of an anonymous Rhodian athlete, second century B.C.

Location: Rhodes, Greece.

Editions and Texts: *IG* XII, 1.78.

Text:

5 [τὸν δεῖνα νικάσαντα Π]ύθια
 Νέμεα
 Ἰσθμία
 Ἐλευσίνια
 Σωτήρια
 Ἐλευθέρια
 Λύκαια
 Βασίλεια.

altera inscriptio, a dextra, mutila non descripta est

Notes

I have not seen this inscription. Accordingly, I print the text *IG* XII, 1.78.

I-MTL 32

Description: White limestone base. Dimensions: height, 0.76 m; width, 0.686 m; thickness: 0.245 m. Letters: height, 0.01-0.02 m. Margins: left, 0.035-0.041; right: 0.049-0.060. Victory list of Sokrates, son of Apollonios, second-first century B.C.

Location: Epidauros, Greece. Archaeological Museum of Ancient Epidauros (Inventory Number 68 308).

Editions and Texts: *IG* IV¹ 1136; *IG* IV² 1.629.

Text:

ἅ πόλις τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων ἀνέθηκε Σωκράτη
Σωκράτεος τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Ἐπιδαύριον
νικάσαντα παῖδας μὲν Ἀσκαπίεια ἵππιον,

- 5 Νέμεα [ἵ]ππιον, ἄνδρας δὲ Λύκαια δίαυλον καὶ
 ὀπλίταν, Ἐλευθέρια τὰ ἐμ Πλαταιαῖς ἵππιον,
 Ἀλέαια δίαυλον, Πυθάεια καὶ Ῥωμαῖα τὰ ἐμ Μεγά-
 ροις ἵππιον καὶ ὀπλίταν, Δῖα καὶ Αἰάντε[ια καὶ] Ῥω-
 μαῖα τὰ ἐν Ὀποῦντι δίαυλον, Ποσείδαια κ[αὶ] Ῥω-
 μαῖα τὰ ἐν Ἀντιγονείαι δίαυλον.

Apparatus Criticus

4 ἵππιον *IG IV*². 7 Αἰάντεια *IG IV*². 8 Ποσείδαια [καὶ] *IG IV*².

Epigraphical Commentary

4: The A in Νέμεα is only preserved at the apex with two diagonal strokes of 0.005m and 0.005 m.

7: Only the vertical stroke (0.014 m) and the lowest horizontal (0.002 m) are legible in the E in Αἰάντε[ια].

8: For the K in κ[αὶ], only a 0.012 m vertical stroke is preserved.

I-MTL 33

Description: Square limestone statue base. Dimensions: height, 0.09 m; length, 0.77 m; width 0.77 m. Letters: height, 0.025 m. Victory list of the runner Lykos, son of Praxidamos, second-first century B.C.

Location: Messene, Greece. Archaeological Site of Ancient Messene (Inventory Number AEM 7264).

Editions and Texts: Themelis in *SEG* 46 410; Themelis 2003, p. 107.

Text:

Λύκος Πραξιδάμου νικάσας δόλιχον Ἴσθμια
 παῖδας, Λύκαια ἄνδρας. Ἑρμᾶι.

I-MTL 34

Description: Rectangular limestone base for a bronze statue. Dimensions: height, 0.245 cm; width 0.56 cm; length, 1.08 m. Letters: height, 0.01-0.02 m. Victory list of the runner Sosias, second-first century B.C.

Location: Messene, Greece. Archaeological Museum of Ancient Messene (Inventory Number AEM 8026).

Editions and Texts: Themelis in *SEG* 46 422; Themelis 2003, p. 144; Themelis 2011, pp. 144-145.

Studies: Slater in *SEG* 48 493; Themelis 1999, pp. 143-147; Gauthier 2000, pp. 631-635; Habicht 2000, pp. 123-126.

Text:

5 ἃ πόλις Σωσίαν Ὀνασιφ[. . . νικάσαντα]
παῖδας Λύκαια στάδιον, Ἴσθ[μια στάδι]ον, Νέ-
μεα δίαυλον, ἀγενεῖους Ἐφέσια τὰ μ[εγά]-
λα στάδιον, Παναθήναια ἐν Ἰλίῳ στάδι-
ον, Ἡράκλεια ἐμ Περγάμῳ ἄνδρας δίαυλ-
ον, Σμίνθεια ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ Τρωά-
δι στάδιον, δίαυλον Ἡμεράσια, [.] Ἀπολ-
λωνία ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δίαυλον, Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἐν
10 [Σμ]ύρνηι τὰ συντελούμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κοινοῦ τῶν
[Ἰών]ων ὀπλίταν.

Apparatus Criticus

1 Ὀνασιφ[ό?] ed. pr., Ὀνασιφ[όρου?] or Ὀνασιφ[ῶντος?], Stroud, Ὀνασιφ[όρου]
Gauthier, Ὀνασιφ[ῶντος] Habicht. [. . . . νικάσαντα] Them. 1999. 2. Ἴσθ[μια
δίαυλ]ον also possible, Gauthier. 7 στάδιον δίαυλον ἡμεράσια, θεῖα Παναπολ-
Them. 1999, Ἡμεράσια ὀπλίταν, Ἀπολ- | λωνία ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δίαυλον Slater,
ὀπλίταν Ἀπολ- Gauthier, [ὀπλίτ]αν Ἀπολ- Habicht. 8 Ἀλεξάνδρεια τὰ ἐν
Them.

Epigraphical Commentary

3: 0.01 m of the tau's vertical stroke, the left side (including crossbar) of the
alpha, and 0.01 m of the mu's right vertical can be discerned.

I-MTL 35

Description: Crown of a limestone statue base. Dimensions: height, 0.20 m (height of
metope, 0.11 m); width at top 0.417 m; width at bottom, 0.23 m. Letters: height, 0.017-
0.025 m. Right margin: 0.018 m. Victory list of an anonymous Messenian pankrationist,
second-first century B.C.

Location: Messene, Greece. Archaeological Museum of Ancient Messene (Inventory
Number 13753).

Editions and Texts: Themelis in *SEG* 54 465; Themelis 2011, pp. 145-146.

Text:

[- - - - c. 13 - - - -] εος ἃ πόλις ἀνέθηκε
[- - - - νικάσαντα - - -]ς πανγκράτιον ννν
[- - c. 8 - - Ἐλευ]σίνια, Λύκαια, Αλέαια.

Apparatus Criticus

1]εος Them. 3 Ἐλευσ]ίνια Them.

Epigraphical Commentary

- 1: Of the E in εος, only 0.006 m of the lowest horizontal bar is preserved.
3: The two lower bars of the Σ in Ἐλευ]σίνια are legible

I-MTL 36

Description: Rectangular marble base for a bronze statue. Dimensions: height, 0.125 m; width, 0.67 m; length, 0.78 m. Letters: height, 0.01-0.023 m. Victory list of Polykles, son of Lysandros, third-second century B.C.

Location: Messene, Greece. Archaeological Museum of Ancient Messene (Inventory Number 11693).

Editions and Texts: Themelis 2011, pp. 146-147.

Text:

Πολυκλῆ Λυσάνδρου νικάσαντα[- - - - -]
Ὀλύμπια, Λύκαια ὁ δᾶμος ἀνέθ[ηκεν].

I-MTL 37

Description: Limestone base with molding at bottom (height, 0.07 m). Dimensions: height, 0.81 m; width at top, 0.725 m; width at bottom, 0.80 m; thickness at top, 0.56 m; thickness at bottom, 0.64 m. Letters: height, 0.015-0.018 m. Inscription arranged in two columns (a and b). Victory list of an anonymous Messenian pankratiast and wrestler, second century B.C.

Location: Messene, Greece. Archaeological Museum of Ancient Messene (Inventory Number 2770).

Editions and Texts: Themelis 2011, pp. 143-144.

Text:

a)

παῖδας πάλαν
Λύκαια
Ἀλέαια
Πύθια τὰ [ἐ]ν Μεγάροις
5 Δήλια τὰ [ἐν] Τανάγραι
Ῥωμαῖα [τὰ ἐ]ν Αἰγίῳ
Ἰσθμια
Ἡραιο
Νέμεα
10 Παναθήναια
ἀγενεῖο[υ]ς πάλαν
Ἰσθμια
Ἐλευθέρια τὰ ἐμ Π[λα]ταιαῖς
Ῥωμαῖα τὰ ἐν Χαλκίδι
15 Νέμεα
ἄνδρας πάλαν
Ὀλύμπια
Λύκαια
Ἀλέαια
20 Ῥωμαῖα τὰ ἐν Αἰγίῳ
Πύθια
Ἐλευθέρια τὰ ἐν Λαρίσαι
Ἡραιο
Νέμεα
25 Ἀλῖεια
Ὀλύμπια
Λύκαια
Ἀλέαια

b)

ἀγενεῖους πανκράτιον
30 Ἐλευθέρια τὰ ἐμ Πλαταιαῖς
Ῥωμαῖα τὰ ἐν Χαλκίδι
ἄνδρας παγκράτιον
Λύκαια
Ἀλέαια
35 Ῥωμαῖα τὰ ἐν Αἰγίῳ
Πύθια
Ἐλευθέρια τὰ ἐν Λαρίσαι
Ῥωμαῖα

Ἀλέαια.

Apparatus Criticus

4 Πύθια τ[ὰ] ἐν Μεγάρους Them. 29 παγκράτιον Them.

I-MTL 38

Description: Victory list of a Pankratiast from Hermione, undated.

Location: Lost, *IG IV 673* reports that it was near the well of the mosque, which is now the Roman Catholic church of Nafplio.

Editions and Texts: *CIG* 1165; *IG* IV 673.

Studies: Robert in *SEG* 11 370.

Text:

[ἡ π]όλις τῶν Ἑρμιο[νέων ἐτίμησε]
 λοχον Πατ[ρο. . . Ναυπλιέα],
 [νική]σαντα Λύ[καια ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ]
 [καὶ] Ἀσκ[λ]άπε[ια ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ καὶ]
 5 α τὰ(?) ἐν Με[γάροις καὶ ἐν]
 [Ποτι]δαία πα[γκράτιον - - - - -].

Apparatus Criticus

5-6 [Πυθάει]α? τὰ ἐν Με[γάρους καὶ | Ποσειΐ]δαια πα[γκράτιον] Robert.

I-MTL 39

Description: Victory list of a Spartan wrestler, undated.

Location: Lost.

Editions and Texts: *CIG* 1431; *IG* V, 1.657.

Text:

Wreath a Ἐλευ-
θέρια
ἄνδρας
πάλλαν.

<i>Wreath b</i>	Λύκαια.
<i>Wreath c</i>	Αϊάν- τεια.
<i>Wreath d</i>	[- -]σια.

I-MTL 40

Description: Top right face of the monument of the Arcadians. Dimensions of the block with the text: height, 0.30 m; width 1.29 m; thickness, 0.98 m. Letters: height, 0.014-0.02 m; stoichedon 33, where each stoichos has a width of 0.015-0.02 m. Margin: above, 0.027 m.

Location: Delphi, Greece. Archaeological Site of Delphi (Inventory Numbers 1813, 1814, 1815).

Editions and Text: *FD* III, 1: 3.

Studies: Scott 2008; Morgan 2009; Pretzler 2009; Scott 2010.

Text:

Πύθι' Ἀπολλων [ἄ]ναξ, τά[δ' ἀγάλματ' ἔδωκεν ἀπαρχάς]
 αὐτόχθων ἱερᾶς λαὸς [ἀπ' Ἀρκαδί]ας·
 Νίκηγ Καλλιστώ τε Λυκαγ[ίδ]α, τῇ πο[τ' ἐμίχθη]
 Ζεὺς, ἱεροῦ δὲ γένους Ἀρκα[δ'] ἔφυσε κό[ρον·]
 5 ἐκ τοῦδ' ἦν Ἑλατος καὶ Ἀφεί[δ]ας ἡδὲ κα[ὶ] Ἀζάν,
 τοὺς δ' Ἑρατὼ νύμφα γείνατ' [ἐ]ν Ἀρκαδ[ίαι·]
 Λαοδάμεια δ' ἔτικτε Τρίφυλον, παῖς Ἀ[μύκλαντος]·
 Γογγύλου ἐκ κούρας δ' ἦν Ἀμιλοῦς Ἑρα[σος]·
 τῶνδε σοι ἐγγενέται Λακεδαίμονα δη[ιώσαντες]
 10 Ἀρκάδες ἔστησαν μνήμ' ἐπιγινόμενοις.

Apparatus Criticus

1 [ἄ]ναξ, τάδ' [ἀγάλματ' ἔ]δ[ωκεν] *FD*. 3 Λυκα<v>[ίδ]α *FD*. 4 Ἀρκ[αδ'] ἔφυσε κόρ[ον·] *FD*. 4 Ἀφε[ίδ]ας ἡδὲ κα[ὶ] *FD*. 6 Ἀρκαδ[ίαι·] *FD*. 9 δη[ιώσαντες] *FD*.

Epigraphical Commentary

1: 0.009 m of the right vertical of N in [ἄ]ναξ is legible.

3: 0.008 m of the left vertical of N in Λυκαγ[ίδ]α can be discerned. This is not a trace of an iota; it is in line with the vertical of the kappa below. If we follow the *stoichedon*, an iota should be placed over the center of the letter below.

9: Λακεδαίμονα, only 0.012 and 0.015 of the two diagonals; no trace of the crossbar. δη[ώσαντες], 0.005 of the bottom of the iota can be read (centered over the sigma below).

I-MTL 41

Description: Seats built in four limestone sections. Letters: height, 0.095 m. Spacing between letters is ca. 0.30 m. Inscribed back of Seat VII of the Proedria at Megalopolis, third or second century B.C.

Location: Megalopolis, Greece. Archaeological Site of Ancient Megalopolis.

Editions and Texts: Hiller von Gaertrinen, *IG V*, 2.451, VII.

Studies: Jones 1987, pp. 135-138.

Text:

[Λυ]καίας.

I-MTL 42

Description: Small clay disc inscribed on both sides (a and b). Dimensions: diameter, 0.045 m; thickness, 0.006 m. Letters: height, 0.003-0.006 m. Theater ticket (*tessera*) from Megalopolis, fourth or third century B.C.

Location: Athens, Greece. National Archaeological Museum (Inventory Number EM 12231).

Editions and Texts: Hiller von Gaetringen, *IG V*, 2.468.

Studies: Jones 1987, pp. 135-138.

Text:

- a)
Ἀπέλλι-
χος
Πολεμαρ-
χίδα.
- b)
Λυκαία
τρίτου.

I-MTL 43

Description: Inscribed stele. Bottom preserved but broken to left. Dimensions: height 0.28 m; width, 0.19 m. Letters: height, 0.008 m. Decree of Megalopolis in honor of Xenokrates, son of Alkimedon, second century B.C.

Location: Hiller von Gaetringen says that it was in the village of Kassidochorion, built into the house of a man named Athanasios Manolis. I went to the village of Oresteio (formerly Kassidochorion) and asked a local resident, Kyr. Maniatis, if he knew of the house where the inscription was. He told me that an earthquake had destroyed all of the buildings in 1965 and that the whole village had been rebuilt.

Editions and Texts: Hiller von Gaetringen, *IG V*, 2.436.

Text:

μαν· ὅπως οἴν καὶ ἅ πόλις φαίνεται μναμονεύουσα τῶν ἀ]-
γαθῶν ἀνδρῶν κα[ὶ - - - - -],
δεδόχθαι τῷ δάμω[ι καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις, ἐπαινέσαι Ξενοκρά]-
την Ἀλκιμέδοντο[ς Μεγαλοπολίταν ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκεν καὶ καλο]-
5 καγαθίας ἧς ἔχω[ν διατελεῖ εἰς ἀμέ, στᾶσαι δὲ τὸν κίονα ἐν]
τῷ ἐπιφανεστά[τῳ τόπῳ τᾶς ἀγορᾶς, καρυξάτωσαν δὲ]
οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐν [τοῖς Λυκαίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγῶσι τοῖς]
στεφανίταις τ[ὰς δεδομένας τιμὰς Ξενοκράτη, ἐγδό]-
τω δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐπι[μελητὰς μεθ' ὧν ὁ νόμος κελεύει στάλαν καὶ ἀ]-
10 ναθέτω εἰς τ[ὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος, τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα δότω]
Γόργιππος [ὁ ταμίας· τὰν δὲ ἔγδοσιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος καὶ τοῦ βά]-
θρου π[ο]ρή[σθωσαν οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων χρόνοις].
τὸ δ[ὲ ἀνάλωμα δότω ὁ ἀντιτυνχάνων ταμίας].
vacat

I-MTL 44

Description: Stele inscribed on both sides. Broken in two fragments (a and b). A third fragment was built into the wall of a house (c). Dimensions: width, 0.54 m and thickness, 0.13-0.17 m (a + b); height, 0.29 m and width, 0.34 m (c). Letters: height, 0.015 m. Decree of Megalopolis in honor of Aristonymos, son of Pason, late second century B.C. (inscribed on the front surface).

Location: Megalopolis, Greece. Αρχαιολογική Συλλογή Μεγαλοπόλης.

Editions and Texts: Hiller von Gaetringen, *IG V*, 2.437.

Studies: Robert in *SEG* 11 1147.

Text:

initium deest
- - - 18 - - - καὶ αἱ λελεῖ - - - - -
- - - 16 - - - ὄν ἀπροφασίστ[ως - - - - - κοσ]-
[μῖως ἀνέστραπτ]αι ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς π[ά]σαις - - - - - -]
[- - 6 - - ἀξίως δ]ὲ τὰς ἐνχειρισθείσας π[ί]στεως - - - οὐδεμίαν - - - -]
5 - - 8 - - - μείαν περικλίνων πολλάκις - - - - - -]
- - 5 - - - αἱς σιτοδείαις σίτου καὶ ἄρχων ὥ - - - - - -
. Πας ὅσους ἤθελον οἱ πολῖται, βλάπτων [- - - - - ἀξιωθεὶς δὲ]
[ὕ]πὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχ*οστασίοις - - - - - -]
ἐπακολουθήσας τοῖς παρακαλουμέν[οις - - - - - ἀγα]-
10 γε καθηκόντως δ[α]πά*ν**ας ε[- - - - - ἐλλειπόντων?]
δὲ καὶ τῶν πυρῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ** τοῦ μ[εδίμνου] πωλουμένου - - στατήρων, ἐ]-
πώλησε μεδίμνους [χ]ι*λ*ίους ὀκτ[ακοσίους - - - τὸν μέδιμνον δύο στα]-
τήρων ἐννέ' ὀβολῶν, ἀνέθ*ηκε δὲ καὶ α[- - - ἀνέστραπται δὲ καὶ ἐν]
τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ δικαίως καὶ εὐγνωμ[όνως - - - , χρήσιμος δὲ καὶ καθ' ἰ]-
15 δῖαν καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν γεγένηται πᾶσι τοῖς πολ[ίταις]· ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἡ πόλις φαίνη]-
ται μναμονεύουσα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν - - - - - δεδό]-
χθαι τῷ δάμῳ καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις σ[- - - - - τῶν]
Μεγαλοπολιτῶν· ἐπ[α]ινέσαι μὲν Ἀρι[σ]τ[ό]νυμον ἀρετᾶς ἔν]εκεν κα[ὶ] εὐνοίας ἅς ἔχων]
διατελεῖ εἰς [ἀμέ· στάσαι δὲ τὸν κί]ονα ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστ[άτῳ] τ[ὸ]πῳ τᾶς
20 [ἀγο]ρᾶς, καρυξάτωσαν δὲ [οἱ ἄρχον]τες ἐν τοῖς Λυκαίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἀγῶσι τοῖς στεφανίταις τὰς δεδομέν[ας] τιμὰς Ἀριστω[ν]ύμῳ Πάσωνος Με-
γαλοπολίται, ἐγδότη δὲ [καὶ]ς ὁ ἐπιμελητὰς μεθ' ὧν ὁ νόμος κελεύ-
vac. εἰ στάλαν, εἰς ἃν γραφῆσ[ονται] αἱ δε]δομέναι τιμαὶ Ἀριστωνύμω<1>, ἐγδότη
δὲ καὶ τὰν ἀναγραφὰν ὡσαύ[τως καὶ ἀν]αθέτω εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆ-
25 ρος, τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα δότη Γ[όργι]ππο[ς] ὁ ταμίης, τὰν δ[ὲ] ἔγδοσιν τοῦ ἀν- vac.
δριάντος καὶ τοῦ βάθρου π[οι]εῖσθ]ωσαν οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νό-
μων χρόνοις· τὸ δὲ ἀνάλω[μα] δότη ὁ ἀντιτυγχάνων ταμίης.

Apparatus Criticus

10-12 [πωλουμένων] | δὲ καὶ τῶν πυρῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοῦ μ[εδίμνου] - - στατήρων, παρε]- | πώλησε μεδίμνους [χ]ιλίους ὀκτ[ακοσίους] Robert. 13-15 [ἐν δὲ] | τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ δικαίως καὶ εὐγνωμ[όνως] ἀναστρεφόμενος, χρήσιμος καὶ καθ' ἰ]- | δῖαν κτλ., Robert. 19 [στάσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰκ]όνα Robert.

Epigraphical Commentary

* indicates areas where the stone was damaged prior to the inscribing of letters.

7 Πας; Π represents two parallel vertical strokes.

I-MTL 45

Description: Broken stele, later carved into a capital for a church. Dimensions: height, 0.245 m; width 0.475 m; thickness, 0.12 m. Letters: height, 0.12 m. Decree of the tribe of Lykoatai, first century B.C.

Location: Megalopolis, Greece. Αρχαιολογική Συλλογή Μεγαλοπόλης.

Editions and Texts: Hiller von Gaetringen, *IG V*, 2.446.

Text:

incerta vestigia versus

ιος, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ τετ(?) ρασ(?)[- - φιλαν]-
θρώπων, καὶ πλειονάκις τὰ[ς δαπάνας ὑπὲρ τῶν]
Λυκοατᾶν πεποίηκε καὶ κατ[ὰ κοινὸν καὶ καθ' ἑ]-
5 δῖαν τοῖς χρεῖαν ἔχουσι φιλαν[θρώπως καὶ οἰκεί]-
ως, <σ>πουδᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐ[δὲν ἐλλείπων],
περὶ πλείστου δὲ ποιούμενο[ς ἀεὶ τι τᾷ τε φά]-
τραι καὶ τοῖς φατρίταις συγ[πράττειν, τοῦ τε]
λυσιτελοῦς ο[ὐδέν], ὅτε καιροὶ [συνβαίνουσιν, ἐν]-
10 λείπων - - - - -

I-MTL 46

Description: Marble anta block from the temple of Despoina at Lykosoura, two fragments (a and b). Dimensions (a): height, 0.80 m; width, 0.825 m; thickness, 0.30 cm. Letters: height, 0.012-0.018 m (Lines 1-18); 0.019-0.029 (Lines 19-20); 0.014-0.02 (Lines 21-33). Dimensions (b): height, 0.253 m; width, 0.175 m; thickness, 0.065 m. Letters: height, 0.015-0.02 (Line 2), 0.008-0.019 m (rest). Three more fragments have been bonded together and are now in the Epigraphical Museum; these make up the ends of lines 8-15. A final fragment, also in the Epigraphical Museum, makes up the ends of lines 22-33. Dimensions: height, 0.253 m; width, 0.175 m; thickness, 0.065 m. Letters: height, 0.015-0.02 m (Line 2); 0.008-0.019 m (rest). Decree of Megalopolis and the Roman businessmen in Megalopolis in honor of Xenarchos, son of Onasikrates, ca. A.D. 1/2.

Location: Lykosoura, Greece. Archaeological Museum of Lykosoura (Inventory Number 58); Athens, Greece, Epigraphical Museum (Inventory Number EM 8914).

Editions and Texts: Leonardos 1896b, no. 17; Hiller von Gaetringen, *IG V*, 2.515B; Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ 800; Kantiréa 2007, p. 215, no. 7.

Studies: Gossage 1954; Camia and Kantiréa 2010; Jost 2010.

Text:

[. . 6-7 . .]ΑΣ[- - - - -]Τ[- - - - -]
[. . 6-7 . .] τῶν [- - - - -]Τ[- - - - -]
[τούς τε] συνέδ[ρους] καὶ τοὺς [Ῥωμαίους τοὺς πραγματευομένους - - -],
[ὅτι ἔμε]λλεν [. . . .]σῖν ὁ ναὸς τᾶς θε[ο]υ, καὶ χρ[η]ματίσονται[ς . . ca. 10 . .]
5 [περὶ τοῦ] γε[νο]μ[έν]ου κατὰ τοὺς [θεοὺς ἁ]τοπήματος .I.[. . ca. 10 . .]
[. . 6-7 . .]γου πανμεγέθους ἀναλώματος, ὧν δηλουμένω[ν .I]ΕΥΤ[. . 2-3 . .]
[. . 6-7 . .]τῆς πόλις πρὸς τὸ ἐλπιζόμενον ἀτύχημα, ἀκολου[θ]ως .I. νν
[. . 7-8 . .] τοῖς προπεπολιτευμένοις ἀτῶ<i> δικαίοις, ὑπέρ τε αὐτοῦ κ[αὶ] τᾶς νν
[γ]υναικὸς καὶ τᾶν γενεᾶν ἐπανγγέλατο τὸν ναὸν ἐπισκευ[ά]σε[ιν]
10 παρ' αὐτοῦ, οὗ τὰν ἔγδοσιν ποιούμενος ἐκάρυξε τοῖς μυστη[ρίοις δώ]-
σιν τῶ<i> ἐγλαβόντι δηνάρια μύρια, πρὸς δὲ κεφάλαιον μηδεν[ὸς] [ἐγλαβόντος]
αὐτὸς τῶν τε ἔργων καὶ πάντων ἐπεμελήθη ἐπὶ τῶ<i> ἐπιγράψιν [ἐπεσκευακέ]-
ναι μετὰ τῶν ιδίων, παρέχεται δὲ καί, ὅσας ἂν ἡ πόλις θ[λίβη]ται [καρ]-
πῶν ἐνδία<i>, τὰ γενήματα καὶ πρὸς ἐλάσσονος τιμᾶς δι[αρκῶς] πωλῶ[ν],
15 γυμνασιαρχῶν τε εἵνεκεν τᾶς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀρεσκεί[ας] πᾶσας
ἀφιδήσας δαπάνας, δαμιοργήσας δὲ ἐπὶ διετίαν τὰ τε καταλ[ύ]ματα
ἐδέξατο καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δαπάνας παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπετετέλεσato, ἐφ' ᾧ<i> μ[ηδέν]α
ὀκληθῆναι τῶν πολιτᾶν·
ἐφ' οἷς καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τ[ῷ] δά[-
20 [μ]ῶ<i> καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς πραγματευομένοις ἐ[ν]
[Μεγά]λα<i> πόλει εὐχαριστοῦντας ἐπαινῖν Ξέναρχον Ὀνασικ[ρά]-
[τεος] ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις, ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ [τε] καὶ
[Νικί]πας τᾶς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τᾶν γενεᾶν ἀ[γ]ά[λ]ματα καὶ
[ἰκόν]ας ἐν ὅπλ[οις] ἐπιχρύσοις καὶ ἀναθῆναι ἐν τῶ<i> ἱερῶ<i> τᾶς Δεσποίνας,
ἐπιγρά-
25 [ψαν]τας ὅτι· “ἅ πόλ[ις] τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτᾶν Ξέναρχον καὶ Νικίππαν καὶ τὰς
γενεὰς
[αὐτῶν, εὐε]ργ[ετοῦ]ντας τὴν πόλιν παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον,” ὁμοίως τε καὶ ἐν
τῶ<i> νάω<i>
[τῶν Σεβασ]τῶν, ὃν κατασκευάσιν ἐπ'ἀνγγεται· ἐπιγραφάτω δὲ μετὰ τῶν ιδίων
[ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν] ναὸν τᾶς Δεσποίνας, ἐπεσκευακέναι· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν τῶν Σεβαστῶν,
[ἀνα]τεθεικέναι· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν τᾶς Κόρας, ὅτι ἐπεσκεύασε. ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς
30 [τῶν Σεβαστῶ]ν διὰ βίου καὶ γένος αὐτοῦ, ἀλειουργήτω[ς] ὑπά[ρχ]ων πᾶσας λι-
[του]ργίας, καλεῖν] δὲ καὶ ἐς προεδρίαν Ξέναρχον ἔν τε τοῖς Λυκαίοις Καισαρήοις
[- - - - -] ἵνα καὶ ἄλλ[οις] εἰς τὰ ὅμοια
[προ]τρέπωμεν - - - - - . ἡρέθη ὁ δεῖνα Ξε[νο]φάνους.

Apparatus Criticus

1]ασ.ι[Leon., HvG. 2 ν?] τῶ[ν? Leon.,] τῶν.[HvG. 3 σ?]υν[έδριον? καὶ
τοῦ[ς? Leon., συν[έδρους] καὶ τοῦ[ς HvG. 3 μελ?]λε in Leon., ἔμε[λλεν
πεσ]εῖν HvG. ὁ ναὸς τᾶ[ς θε]ο[ῦ καὶ? χρη?]ματ[ίζοντ?]τ Leon., ὁ ναὸς τᾶ[ς
θε]ο[ῦ, καὶ χρ]ηματίζοντ[ας] HvG. 5]ου κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀτοπήματος [γ?
Leon., περὶ τοῦ] γ.ου κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀτοπήματος - - c. 10-12 - - HvG,
γ[ε]νομένου Fraenkel. 6 ου πανμεγέθους Leon., HvG. 6-7 ὧν δηλουμένω[ν

μὴ εὐπο-?] [ρούσας? τ]ᾶς Leon., ὧν δηλουμένω[ν π]ερὶ[βλε]- [πομένας τ]ᾶς HvG. 7-8 ἀκολο[ύθως? . | [.] Leon., ἀκολο[ύθως δια-] | [κείμενος] HvG. 8 ἀτῶ Leon., ἀτῶι HvG (HvG's way of indicating ὠ<ι>). 9 ἐπισκευ[άσειν] Leon., ἐπισκευ[ά]σ[ειν] HvG. 10-11 μυστ[ηρίους δώ-?] | σιν Leon. 11 τῶ Leon., τῶι HvG. μηδεν[ὸς δεξαμένου?] Leon. 12 τῶ Leon., τῶι HvG. 13-14 θ[λείβητ?]α[ι? καρ-?] | πῶν, θ[λίβητ]αι [καρ]- | πῶν HvG. 14 ἐνδία Leon., ἐνδίαι HvG. πρὸς ἐλάσσονος τιμᾶς δι. πωλ[ῶν] Leon. 15 ἀρεσκε[ίας π]ά[σας] Leon., ἀρεσκε[ίας π]ά[σας] HvG. 17 ἐφ' ὃ [μηδένα] Leon., ὧι HvG. 19 τ[ῶ δῆ-] Leon. 20. μ[ὲ] [κ]αὶ Leon., [μ]ῶι [κ]αὶ HvG. 20-21 ἐ[ν] | [Μεγάλ]α Leon., ἐ[ν Με]- | [γάλ]αι HvG. 23 [Νικίπ]ας Leon. ἀ[γάλ]ματα καὶ Leon., ἀγάλματα καὶ HvG. 24 εἰκόνας ἐν ὅπλ[?]οις Leon. ἐν τῷ ἱερῶ Leon., ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι HvG. 24-25 ἐπιγρα- | φὰν ἐχούσας “ἀ π]όλις Leon. 25 “ἀ π]όλις HvG. 26 [αὐτῶν? εὐεργε]τοῦντας Leon., αὐτῶν εὐ]εργετοῦντας HvG. τῶ νάω Leon., τῶι νάωι HvG. 27 [τῶν Σεβαστῶν?] Leon., [τᾶς Δεσποίνας] HvG. 28 [ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ν?]αὸν Leon. 29 [καθιδρυκέν?]αι Leon. [ἀνατεθεικέ]ναι HvG. 30 [τῶν Σεβαστῶ?]ν διὰ βί[ο]υ κ]αὶ γένος α[ὐ]τοῦ, ἀλειτουργή[το]ς ὑπάρχων Leon., [τῶν Σεβαστῶ]ν διὰ βί[ο]υ κ]αὶ γένος α[ὐ]τοῦ, ἀλειτουργή[το]ς ὑ[πάρ]χων HvG. 31 καλεῖν δ' ἐ Leon. τοῖ[ς Λυ]καίοις (καὶ?) Καισαρήοις Leon., τοῖς [Λ]υκαίοις (καὶ) Καισαρήοις HvG. 32 ὅπως (ἄν) φαινόμεθα καὶ ἐν τούτοις μεμνημένοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἄλ[?]λους εἰς τὰ ὅμοια Leon. 33 [προτρέπ - - - - δεῖνα Ξε]νοφάνεος Leon.

Epigraphical Commentary

- 1: I see no traces of the I read by Leonardos and Hiller von Gartringen.
- 2: The T is legible only in photographs.
- 3: The Δ in συνέδ[ρους] is obscure but partially legible.
- 4: Only 0.015 m of the right diagonal remains of the first Λ in ἔμε]λλεν. The Σ of [. . .]σῖν becomes clear in photographs. Cf. some of the other infinitive forms in this text (e.g., κατασκευάσιν). Photographs make it clear that Σ is certainly the correct reading in χρ]ηματίσονται.
- 5: The Γ and Ε in γε[νο]μ[έν]ου are clearly legible. Only 0.002 m of the right vertical and 0.008 m of the right base of the Μ remain legible. HvG is incorrect in his claim that Fraenkel's restoration of γ[ενομέν]ου did not fit the gap.
- 6: Only the second half of the Ν in]νου is legible. At the end of the line, .]ΕΥΤ[. .2-3 . .] is preserved only in the bottom horizontal of Ε, 0.001 m of the very bottom of Υ, and only 0.009 m of the vertical of Τ. In any case, HvG's restoration is impossible.
- 7: The end of the line, ἀκολού[θως .]ι. νν, is highly fragmented. Only the bottom 0.005 m of the Υ and 0.01 m of the Ι can be read. Traces of a final letter are followed by a gap of around two letters. Again, HvG's restoration is probably wrong.
- 9: For ἐπισκεύ[ά]σ[ειν], the left upper diagonal of Υ and the upper traces of ΣΕ can be read, after which ΙΝ must have followed beneath the νν above.
- 10: μυστη[ρίους, 0.01 m of the upper left vertical of the Η.

- 13: In θ[λίβη]ται, the right half of the crossbar is preserved, 0.008 m.
 15: Half of the Π in πάσας is discernable.
 22: For αὐτοῦ, the top of the O (diameter 0.01 m) and left upper diagonal of Y are legible.
 23: ἀγ[ά]λματα, the top left of the Γ is clear.
 27: [τῶν Σεβασ]τῶν is faint but legible and vindicates Leonardos' reading.
 29: [ἀνατεθεικέ]ναι is probably too many letters, but the sense is correct.
 31: The lambda in Λυκαίοις is faint but legible. I see no reason to add a καὶ between the two names.

I-MTL 47

Description: Seats built in four limestone sections. Letters: height, 0.11 m (ligature of Φ and Y, 0.30 m). Spacing between first two letters, 0.12 m; spacing between the rest, 0.40-0.50 m. Inscribed front of Seat IV of the Proedria at Megalopolis, Hadrianic.

Location: Megalopolis, Greece. Archaeological Site of Ancient Megalopolis.

Editions and Texts: Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG V*, 2.451, VII, 452, IV.

Studies: Jones 1987, pp. 135-138.

Text:

Φυ(λῆ) Λυκαειτῶν.

I-MTL 48

Description: Limestone base. Dimensions: height, 0.713 m; width, 0.43 m; thickness, 0.51 m. Letters: height, 0.03-0.035 m (Lines 1-4); 0.02-0.023 m (Lines 4-12); 0.054-0.065 m (Line 14). Decree of Megalopolis in honor of M. Tadius Spedianus, second century A.D.

Location: Megalopolis, Greece. Αρχαιολογική Συλλογή Μεγαλοπόλης (Inventory Number 100).

Editions and Texts: Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG V*, 2.463.

Studies: *SEG* 49 469.

Text:

[ῆ πό]λ[ι]ς ἡ Μεγαλο-
πολειτῶν Μ. Τάδιο[ν]

Σπεδιανὸν Μ. Ταδίο[υ]
 Τειμοκράτους ὕδν –
 5 τὰ τε ἄλλα πολιτευσάμενον
 φιλοτείμως καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαν-
 τα τῶν Λυκαίων καὶ Καισαρῶν λαμ-
 πρως καὶ ἐναρέτως, προσδεξα-
 μένης τὸ ἀνάλωμα ἅ Κλαυδίας Ἰου-
 10 λίτης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν
 παιδίων Ταδίων Τειμοκράτους
 καὶ Σωτηρίχου.

vacat

Ψ(ήφισμα)

Β(ουλῆς)

Apparatus Criticus

1 ἡ πόλις HνG. 2 Τάδιον HνG. 3 Ταδίου HνG.

Epigraphical Commentary

1: 0.005 m of the left half of the lambda and 0.006 m of the bottom horizontal of sigma are legible in πό]λ[ι]ς.

4: The – in the text represents a 0.009 m horizontal punctuation mark.

6: Of the mu, 0.02 m of the left upward diagonal and 0.01 m of the following downward stroke are preserved.

10: The left vertical stroke (0.012 m) and the attached downward horizontal (0.002-0.003 m) of the N at the end of the line is legible.

I-MTL 49

Description: Three fragments of a base. Dimensions: at least 0.62 m, height; at least 0.56 m, width. Letters: height, 0.04 m; lines 1-3 a little larger. Decree of Megalopolis in honor of Tiberius Claudius Polyxenus, second century A.D.

Location: Lost.

Editions and Texts: Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG V*, 2.464.

Text:

[ἡ π]όλις
 [Τιβ.] Κλαύδιον Πο-
 [λύξ]ενον, ἀγορανο-
 [μήσαντα λαμπρῶς],

5 [προσδεξαμέ]-
 νης τὸ ἀ[ν]άλωμα
 Τιβ. Κλα[υ]δίας Ἰου-
 λίττης | τῆς ἀδελ-
 φῆς ὑπ[ἐ]ρ τῆς Λυ-
 10 καειτ[ῶ]ν φυλῆς.

I-MTL 50

Description: Decree listing *theorodokoi* at Thisoa, Hellenistic.

Location: Tsouraki, Greece.

Editions and Texts: Unpublished. Reported in the paper of T. Mattern, “Theisoa,” delivered at the conference *Arkadien im Altertum: Geschichte und Kultur einer antiken Gebirgslandschaft / Ancient Arcadia: History and Culture of a Mountainous Region*, Graz, Austria. February 12, 2016.

Text:

Decree from Thisoa listing *theorodokoi*. The sanctuary on Mt. Lykaion is mentioned as a place for its publication.

I-MTL 51

Description: Five fragments of a white marble stele recording *sula* (seized property), late fourth century B.C.

Location: Cyrene, Libya.

Editions and Texts: Pugliese Carratelli and Morelli 1961-1962, no. 103, with photo at fig. 81, and no. 207; Dobias-Lalou and A. Laronde 1977, with photo.

Studies: Daux 1963; Lintott 2004; Bremmer 2007.

Text:

See *SEG* 20 716 and related lemmata for the full text.

Lines 8-12

[- - - - - φυλάσσο]νται α[ί] μὲν ἐν ταῖς πόλισσιν
 [ὑπὸ τῶν δαμιεργῶν κατ]ὰ τὸς νόμος αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
 [τῷ Διὸς τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ ὑπὸ τ]ῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν, ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὸ

[τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐν τῷ]ι ἱερῷ τῷ Διὸς τῷ Λυκαίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν
[ἱερομαμόνων, ἐν Ἀθά]γαις ὑπ[ὸ] τῶν θεσμοθετῶν·

Line 24

ἐν τῷι ἱερῷ τῷ Διὸς τῷ Λυκαίῳ ποτί Χάρωνα τὸν χῶλὸν μ(νᾶν) Χ·

I-MTL 52

Location: Stele of Hymettian marble. Dimensions: height, 0.225 m; width, 0.185 m; thickness, 0.07 m. Letters: height, 0.005. Decree of Athens regarding the Lykaia, just after ca. 215 B.C.

Location: Athens, Greece. Epigraphical Museum (Inventory Numbers EM 7580 and EM 5579).

Editions and Texts: *IG* II, 5, 451e; *IG* II² 993; Robert 1926, pp. 495-496; Dow 1937, pp. 120-126, with photo at fig. 2-3; *IG* II³ 1184.

Studies: Tracy and Edmunds 1978, p. 249; Habicht 2006.

Text (Lines 1-7, restored by Robert):

[. . .]υλος Κλέων[ος - - - εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ, πρότερόν τε τοῦ δήμου τοῦ]
Μεγαλοπολιτῶν [ἀποστείλαντος θεωροὺς τοὺς ἐπαγγέλλοντας τὸν ἀγῶνα]
τῶν Λυκαίων στεφαν[ίτην γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἰσολύμπιον, ὁ δὴ]-
μος εὐχαριστεῖν αὐ[τῷ προαιρούμενος ἐψηφίσατο ἀποδέχεσθαι]
5 τε τὸν ἀγῶνα καθάπε[ρ ἐπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ θεωροὶ στεφανίτην καὶ]
ἀποστέλλειν θεωρο[ὺς εἰς τὰ Λύκαια τοὺς συνθύσοντας τὴν θυσίαν]
καὶ νῦν δὲ πάλιν ἀπέσ[ταλκεν κτλ.]

I-MTL 53

Description: Inscribed Doric column with 20 flutes. Decree of Lykosoura in honor of Damophon of Messene, second century B.C.

Location: Messene, Greece. Archaeological Site of Ancient Messene (Inventory Number 1048).

Editions and Texts: *SEG* 41 332.

Text:

45 κόνα ἐν Λυκοσοῦραι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τᾶς Δεσ-
ποίνας ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ.

I-MTL 54

Description: Nine fragments of a stele inscribed on both sides. Border treaties between Megalopolis, Helisson, and Thouria, ca. 182-167 B.C. (182/1?). The treaty of interest here is between Megalopolis and Helisson.

Location: Olympia, Greece. Depot of the German Excavations (Inventory Numbers: 666 (Frg. a/b), 933 (c), 785 (d), 1062 (e), 128 (f), 1113 (h); frg. g is glued onto frg. c).

Editions and Texts: frgs. a-f, *IvO* 46; frgs. a-f, Ager 1996, pp. 310-314, no. 116; *IPArk* 31, with photo; Siewert and Taeuber 2013, pp. 56-62, no. 14.

Text:

For the full text, see *IPArk* 31.

A I, Lines 5-9

[- - - - - τ]οῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου νν
[- - - - - ἐναν]τίον τοῦ ψιλοῦ λόφου ν
[- - - - - ἰ]ερὸν εἰς τὸ τῷ Διὸς ννν
[- - - - - ποτ'] ἄρκτον, τουτῷ δὲ εἰς τὰν
[- - - - - τὸν ποτα]μὸν τὸν Ἑλίσοντα ννννν

Lines 26-32

ἀπὸ δὲ τᾶς περιβολᾶς ἐπ' εὐ-
[θείας - - - - - εἰς τὸ τοῦ] Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαί-
[ου - - - - -] τῷ ποτ' ἄρ-
[κτον, - - - - - ἐπ' εὐθείας εἰς τὸ το]ῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀρί-
[ου - - - - -] καὶ τῇ Ἀχρα-
- - - - - Ἑλισφασίαν ν
[- - - - - τ]ὸμ ποταμὸν νν
[τὸν Ἑλίσοντα - - - - - τ]ὸν Ἑλίσοντα ν

B 1, Lines 12-14

ἀπὸ δὲ τᾶς περιβολᾶς [ἐπ' εὐθείας - - - - - τοῦ]
λόφου εἰς τὸ τοῦ Δ[ιὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου ἱερὸν ἐναντίον τοῦ]
πευκώδεος λόφου[

I-MTL 55

Description: The Parian Chronicle, 264/3 B.C.

Location: Lost.

Editions and Texts: Jacoby 1904; *IG* XII, 5.444.

Text:

30b ἀφ' οὗ [ἐ]ν Ἐλευσίνι ὁ γυμνικὸς [ἀγὼν**] ΑΦΟΥ. . . .
31 ΑΙ. . τὰ Λύκαια ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἐγένετο καὶ Λ . . ΚΚΕ. . . .
Λυκάονος ἐδόθησαν . . τοῖς Ἑλλ[η]σι[ν] ἔτ[η] . . Ν . . βασιλεύον-
32a τος Ἀθηνῶν Πανδίωνος τοῦ Κέκροπος.

I-MTL 56

Description: Epitaph of L. Fabius Lycaeus, son of Lucius.

Location: Venetia et Histria (Italy).

Editions and Texts: *CIL* V 3133.

Text:

L(ucius) Fabius L(uci) f(ilius) / Lycaeus / IIIIvir

Appendix III: *Lykaionikai*, Sixth-First centuries B.C.

Name	Polis or Region	Event	Date	Sources	Other Known Victories
1. Oligathidai	Corinth	Multiple victories	6 th century B.C.	Pi. <i>Ol.</i> 13.107-108	Thessalos, father of Xenophon: Olympia (1), Pythia (2), Panathenaia (3); Oligathidai: Olympia, Pythia (4), Isthmia (60), Nemea (60), Hekatomboia, Eleusinia, Herakleia at Marathon, Pythia at Sikyon, at Megara, at Pellana, on Sicily, on Euboea
2. Thrasyklos and Antias	Argos	Wrestling	Late 6 th century B.C.	Pi. <i>Nem.</i> 10.48	Isthmia, Nemea (4), Koriasia, Aleaia, Pythia at Sikyon, at Pellana, in Achaea
3. Epharmostos	Opous	Wrestling	Prior to 466 B.C.	Pi. <i>Ol.</i> 9.95-96	Olympia (1), Pythia (1), Isthmia (3), Nemea (2), Hekatomboia, Panathenaia, Eleusinia, Herakleia at Marathon, Iolaia, at Pellana
4. Diagoras, son of Damagetos	Rhodes	Pankration or Boxing	Prior to 464 B.C.	Pi. <i>Ol.</i> 7.83-84	Olympia (1), Pythia (1), Isthmia (4), Nemea (4), Hekatomboia, Panathenaia, Herakleia/Iolaia, at Pellana, on Aigina, in Megara, in Boeotia
5. Xenophon, son of Thessalos	Corinth	Running? Pentathlon?	Prior to 464 B.C.	Pi. <i>Ol.</i> 13.107-108	Olympia (2), Isthmia (2), Nemea
6. Theaios, son of Oulias	Argos	Wrestling?	Prior to 444 B.C.	Pi. <i>Nem.</i> 10.48	Pythia, Isthmia (3), Nemea (3), Hekatomboia (2), Panathenaia (2)
7. Dorieus, son of Diagoras	Rhodes	Pankration or Boxing	432, 428, and 424 B.C.?	<i>CIG</i> 1715	Olympia (3), Pythia (4), Isthmia (8), Nemea (7), Hekatomboia (3), Panathenaia (4), Asklaieia (4)
8. Kleainetos, son of Epikrates	Argos	Running	Third quarter of the 4 th century B.C.	<i>SEG</i> 35 267	Pythia (6), Nemea, Hekatomboia, Asklaieia
9. Prateas, son of Aischylos	Argos	Wrestling	Third quarter of the 4 th century B.C.	<i>SEG</i> 17 150	Pythia (1), Isthmia (2), Nemea (3), Hekatomboia (1), Panathenaia (1), on Mainalon (1)
10. Dameas, son of Timon	Elis	Two-horse chariot race	320 B.C.	<i>IG</i> V, 2.549	
11. Eupolemos, son of Damis	Megalopolis (Arcadia)	Four-foal chariot race	320 B.C.	<i>IG</i> V, 2.549	
12. Chionidas, son of Euainetos	Arcadia	Four-horse chariot race	320 B.C.	<i>IG</i> V, 2.549	
13. Philonikos, son of Philonikos	Argos	Horse race	320 B.C.	<i>IG</i> V, 2.549	
14. Theoteles, son of Nikasippos	Arcadia	Boys' Stadion	320 B.C.	<i>IG</i> V, 2.549	
15. Thrasydemos, son of Theaios	Athens	Boys' Wrestling	320 B.C.	<i>IG</i> V, 2.549	
16. Nikias, son of Mnasias	Arcadia	Boys' Boxing	320 B.C.	<i>IG</i> V, 2.549	
17. Aristippos, son of Aristokles	Argos	Men's Stadion, Men's Dolichos	320 B.C. and 316 B.C.	<i>IG</i> V, 2.549	
18. Deinon, son of Deinias	Arcadia	Men's Diaulos	320 B.C.	<i>IG</i> V, 2.549	
19. Aristomenes, son of Aristes	Argos	Men's Wrestling	320 B.C.	<i>IG</i> V, 2.549	
20. Hagesistratos, son of Perilas	Argos	Pentathlon	320 B.C.	<i>IG</i> V, 2.549	
21. Andromachos, son of Lysianaktos	Elis	Men's Boxing	320 B.C.	<i>IG</i> V, 2.549	
22. Antenor, son	Miletos	Pankration	320 B.C.	<i>IG</i> V,	Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia, Nemea

of Xenares				2.549, Moretti 1957, no. 488	
23. Pantichos, son of Leontis	Arcadia	Hoplite race	320 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
24. Deinias, son of Laandros	Arcadia	Boys' Stadion	316 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
25. Aristodamos, son of Aristomachos	Argos	Men's Stadion	316 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
26. Archedamos, son of Archias	Argos	Men's Diaulos	316 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
27. Androbios, son of Eudamidas	Sparta	Pentathlon	316 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
28. Amyandros, son of Periandros	Akarnania	Hoplite race	316 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
29. Aisagenes, son of Agathias	Arcadia	Boys' Wrestling	316 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
30. Seleidas, son of Alexandridas	Sparta	Men's Wrestling	316 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549, <i>SEG</i> 37 359	Olympia
31. Diyllos, son of Epigonos	Arcadia	Boys' Boxing	316 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
32. Dieuches, son of Xenokrates	Arcadia	Men's Boxing	316 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
33. Euanor, son of Euarchos	Arcadia	Pankration	316 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
34. Amphainetos, son of Pedaretos	Arcadia	Two-horse chariot race	316 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
35. Pasikles, son of Asintos	Sparta	Horse race	316 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
36. Pistagoras, son of Dailochos	Arcadia	Men's Dolichos	312 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
37. [.]s, son of Teleutiadas	[8 letters], Doric or West Greek?	Boys' Stadion	312 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
38. [.], son of P[o]lye[uktos?]	?	Men's Stadion	312 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.549	
39. Lagos, son of Ptolemy	Macedonia (Egypt)	Two-horse chariot race	308 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
40. Damolytos, son of Aleximenes	Elis	Four-foal chariot race	308 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
41. Onomantos, son of Erymanthos	Argos	Horse race	308 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
42. Epainetos, son of Silanos	Macedonia	Four-horse chariot race	308 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
43. Ageus, son of Aristokles	Argos	Men's Dolichos	308 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550, Moretti 1957, no. 464	Olympia
44. Tellias	Arcadia	Boys' Stadion	304 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
45. Herakleitos	Macedonia	Men's Stadion	304 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
46. Alexibios	Arcadia	Pentathlon	304 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
47. Philistidas	Argos	Men's Dolichos	304 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
48. Philokrates	Syracuse	Men's Diaulos, Hoplite race	304 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
49. Theoteles	Arcadia	Boys' Wrestling	304 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	

50. Theogeiton	Arcadia	Boys' Boxing	304 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
51. Aristodamos	Argos	Men's Wrestling	304 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
52. Timodoros	Arcadia	Men's Boxing	304 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
53. Aristonymos	Argos	Pankration	304 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
54. Nikagoras, son of Nikon	Rhodes	Two-horse chariot race	304 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550, <i>I.Lindos</i> 68	Olympia (2), Pythia (1), Isthmia (3), Nemea (3), Hekatomboia (1), Panathenaia (1), Pythia at Sikyon (3)
55. Thearidas	?	Four-foal chariot race	304 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
56. Aristoteles	Sparta	Horse race	304 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
57. Boubalos	Kassandreia	Four-horse chariot race	304 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.550	
58. Kallistratos, son of Teisikrates	Sikyon	Boys' Pankration and Mens' Boxing (2)	260-220 B.C.	<i>IG IV</i> 428	Pythia (1), Isthmia (5), Nemea (3), Panathenaia (1), Asklepia (1), Naa (3), Rhieia (3)
59. Name unknown	Argos	Men's Diaulos (3), Hoplites (1), Stadion (1)	ca. 200 B.C.	<i>SEG</i> 11 338	Olympia, Pythia (1), Isthmia (5), Nemea (6), Heraia (2), Panathenaia (1), Eleusinia, Ptolemaia in Athens (1), Basileia (1), Greater Amphiareia (2), Eleutheria (1), Thermika (2), Herakleia (1), Pythia at Sikyon (4), Soteria (1), Antigoneia (1)
60. Damatrios, son of Aristippos	Tegea	Men's Dolichos (4)	ca. 200 B.C.	<i>IG V</i> , 2.142	Olympia (2), Pythia (2), Isthmia (3), Nemea (4), Hekatomboia (2), Asklepia (1), Aleaia (4), Basileia (2)
61. Polykles, son of Lysandros	Messene	Unknown	3 rd /2 nd century B.C.	Themelis 2011, pp. 146-147	Olympia (1)
62. Menodoros, son of Gnaios	Athens	Men's Pankration	135-130 B.C.	<i>IG II²</i> 3147, <i>IG II²</i> 3150, <i>IG II²</i> 3154, <i>I.Délös</i> 1957	Olympia (2), Nemea (3), Heraia (2), Panathenaia (2), Eleusinia (3), Herakleia in Thebes (6), Delia (1), Rhomaia in Chalkis (2), Soteria (2), Naa (2), Trophonia (2), Nymphaia (2)
63. Name Unknown	Messene	Men's Pankration, Men's Wrestling (2), Boys' Wrestling	2 nd century B.C.	Themelis 2011, pp. 143-144	Olympia (2), Pythia (2), Isthmia (2), Nemea (3), Heraia (1), Panathenaia (1), Aleaia (5), Pythia in Megara (1), Delia in Tanagra (1), Rhomaia in Aigion (3), Eleutheria (2), Eleutheria in Larisa (2), Halieia (1), Rhomaia in Chalkis (2)
64. Unknown Name	Rhodes	Unknown	2 nd century B.C.	<i>IG XII</i> , 1.78	Pythia (1), Isthmia (1), Nemea (1), Eleusinia (1), Soteria (1), Eleutheria (1), Basileia (1)
65. Sokrates, son of Sokrates	Epidauros	Men's Diaulos, Hoplites	ca. 100 B.C.	<i>IG IV²</i> , 1.629	Nemea (1), Asklepia (1), Eleutheria (1), Aleaia (1), Posidaia and Rhomaia in Antigoneia (Mantineia) (1), Pythaea and Rhomaia in Megara (2), Dia and Aiantia and Rhomaia in Opous (1)
66. Lykos, son of Praxidamos	Messene	Dolichos	2 nd /1 st century B.C.	<i>SEG</i> 46 410	Isthmia
67. Unknown Name	Messene	Pankration	2 nd /1 st century B.C.	<i>SEG</i> 54 465	Eleusinia, Aleaia
68. Sosias, son of Onasiph[Messene	Boys' Stadion	1 st century B.C.	<i>SEG</i> 46 422	Isthmia (1), Nemea (1), Hemerasia (1), Greater Ephesia (1), Panathenaia in Ilion (1), Herakleia in Pergamon (1), Smintheia in Alexandria in the Troad (1), Apollonia (?) in Ephesus (1), Alexandria in Smyrna (1)
69. Zenobios (?)	Unknown	Herald	1 st century B.C.	<i>I.Délös</i> 2552	Olympia, Delphi (Pythia?), Delia?, Panathenaia, in Attica (3), Eleusinia, Eleutheria, Herakleia in Thebes, at Tanagra, Trophonia (2), at festival of the Muses (Helikon?), at trieteric

					festival of Dionysus
70. [. . . .]lochos, son of Pat[ro. . . .]	Nauplion	Pankration?	Undated	<i>IG</i> IV 673	Asklapieia, in Megara, in Potidaia (or Posedaia?)
71. Unknown Name	Sparta	Wrestling	Undated	<i>IG</i> V, 1.657	Eleutheria, Aianteia

Appendix IV: The ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ Coinage

Early scholarship suggested that the coinage emanated from either the Lykaia festival or a federal organization. Head (1911, pp. 444, 447-448), for instance, argues that Heraia minted the coins from ca. 490-417 B.C. after they “assumed the presidency, or were entrusted with the management of the national Arcadian Games,” while Busolt (1926, pp. 1398-1399, with n. 3) considers it to be federal.

Wallace 1954, pp. 32-35 strongly supports the idea of an Arcadian League in the fifth century B.C., using the coinage to suggest that in 490 B.C. Kleomenes of Sparta organized a League of Arcadians in order to threaten his own countrymen (the passage in question is Hdt. 6.74). After the death of Kleomenes the League endured and continued to issue coinage featuring Zeus Lykaios.

Wallace faced backlash almost immediately. Hejnic (1961, pp. 93-97) rejects the federal interpretation, agreeing instead with those arguing for the “priestly character of the Pan-Arcadian coinage.”

The fundamental study by Williams came in 1965, who was the first to identify three separate die sequences. He suggests that the three mints were Tegea, Mantinea, and Kleitor, but he nevertheless argues that the coins were issued by an Arcadian League, whose history he traces on the basis of the meager literary record and the numismatic data. Roy (1972b) modifies this argument by suggesting that the three mints imply three separate entities, each claiming the status of a League. Kraay (1976, p. 97) reviewed the whole series and proposes that the coinage began ten to 15 years later than is normally assumed (i.e., 480 or 475 B.C. rather than 490 B.C.). This lower dating is now generally accepted.

Nielsen (2002, pp. 154-151) suggests that the coins were issued by an amphictiony centered upon Mt. Lykaion. In order to bolster his argument, he questions the idea that there were three separate mint sites, maintaining instead that all the coins could have been made at Lykaion but with different dies. The most recent endorsement of the view that different Arcadian communities used the coinage “to harness Arcadian symbols and sentiments for their own ends” is Pretzler (2009, pp. 94-95; cf. also Morgan 2009, pp. 152-153).

Roy (2013b, pp. 32-40) has recently suggested that the coins were minted by the Parrhasians and were linked to the Lykaia festival.

The fact that the most common denomination is the triobol indicates that one of the main purposes of this coinage was to pay hoplites (Thuc. 5.47.6 tells us that three Aiginetan obols were daily pay of a hoplite in the 420s B.C.).

Appendix V: The Arcadian League, 371-331 B.C.

I accept that the League (οἱ Ἀρκάδες or τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν) was founded in 371 B.C., although, as we shall see, some scholars place the foundation in 370. The main argument in favor of 371 B.C. is the presence of Proxenos of Tegea among the oikists of Megalopolis. This man was very active in Tegean democratic circles and was killed in 370 (see Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.6-7), and we know that a man with the same name received money from Magnesia on the Maeander (*Syll.*³ 559, l. 26). As Hornblower notes (1990, p. 76), “[t]he postulation of two Tegeans called Proxenos, both active at very similar dates in very similar contexts, is desperate.”

Niese (1899, p. 520) argues for Athenian influence and acknowledges that the Thebans played a part in the foundation. He considers the re-foundation of Mantinea around spring 370 B.C. to have been the first act of the League. Busolt (1926, pp. 1400-1401) ascribes the foundation to Argive influence and the subsequent development of the League to the Boeotian Confederacy. Larsen (1967) views the formation of the League as an Arcadian movement, while Roy (1971, 1974, 1994, 2000a) asserts the 370 B.C. date and argues that the impetus came from Mantinean and Tegean democratic circles.

Dušanić (1970, pp. 281-289) is fundamental (along with Hornblower 1990) for establishing the 371 B.C. date, and he stresses Mantinean leadership with Argive and Athenian backing (for Argos, we know that 60 prominent Mantinean democrats found refuge there in 385 B.C.; for Athens, he cites connections between Arcadia and the Academy, i.e., that Plato sent Aristonymos to draw up the constitution (Plut. *Adv. Colotem* 1126c; see also Trampedach 1994, pp. 24-41), that Diotima of the *Symposium* was a Mantinean (as was a female student of the Academy, Lastheneia), and that two artists who worked for the Arcadians were related to Plato). Buckler (1980, pp. 70-71) opts for 370 B.C. and stresses the role of Lykomedes and, in particular, the re-foundation of Mantinea, which “worked as a catalyst throughout the region, one that inspired pan-Arkadian feelings.”

Beck (1997, pp. 74-75, with n. 50) supports the date of 370 B.C. and problematizes 371 B.C. by asking why the pro-Sparta group at Tegea (Stasippos’ faction), whose existence Xenophon makes clear, would have agreed to the Megalopolis project (a fair point, but one could suggest that the *stasis* was due to this very decision, which the opponents of Stasippos’ group had been able to pass). Nielsen (2002, pp. 475-477) also supports 370 B.C. (citing Roy 1974), but later he states (p. 371), “[i]n conclusion, the League was founded after the Common Peace of 371.” The most recent account of the League’s foundation is by Nielsen (2015, pp. 258-260).

During the course of the 360s B.C., the League quickly became one of the most powerful states in Greece. The Arcadians founded a new capital city at Megalopolis and acquired territories to the south and west that had formerly belonged to Sparta and Elis, respectively. For a brief time, the League even took over control of the sanctuary at Olympia and attempted to host the festival (364 B.C.), although a battle with the Eleians ensued. Disagreement over the use of sacred funds for the upkeep of standing military forces (the *eparittoi*) resulted in a breach between the federal magistrates and the Mantineans. The magistrates’ failed attempt to have the Mantineans condemned was

followed by a successful vote of the assembly (the *myrioi*) to ban the use of monies from Olympia. Without funds to pay the standing troops, the wealthy began to take control of this important institution. Fearful of an accompanying shift in League policy in favor of Sparta, the faction led by Megalopolis and Tegea called in the Thebans, while the Mantineans and their partisans in northern Arcadia went over to Athens and Sparta. The resultant battle at Mantinea (362 B.C.) pitted the Thebans and their Tegean and Megalopolitan allies against Athens, Sparta, and the Mantinean group. As Xenophon noted, this battle resulted only in more confusion.

After the battle of Mantinea, two organizations claimed to be the Arcadian League (Nielsen 2002, pp. 493-496). The Mantineans are called Ἀρκάδες in a treaty with Athens, Achaia, Elis, and Phleious ratified after the battle at Mantinea (362/1 B.C.: *IG II*² 112, *Syll.*³ 181, Rhodes and Osborne 41; on the chronology, see Buckler 1980, pp. 260-261). Furthermore, a scholium to Aeschines 3.83 tells us that in 342 B.C. the Athenians were party to a treaty that included both “the Arcadians with the Mantineans” and “the Megalopolitans.” The latter also seem to have headed a League at this time. Demosthenes’ speech for the Megalopolitans (Dem. 16) speaks of the residents as both “Megalopolitans” and “Arcadians.” We last hear of League institutions in Dem. 19 and Aeschin. 2, which both say that Aeschines spoke before the *Myrioi* at Megalopolis in 348/7 B.C.

Dušanić’s view (1970, p. 335) that the *Myrioi* referred to here are the civic assembly of Megalopolis is wrong. In the first place, other Megalopolitan decrees and honors (admittedly later, but nevertheless the only evidence we possess) are issued by the polis,⁸³⁰ the *synedrion*,⁸³¹ or the *damos* and the *synedrion*.⁸³² Moreover, the recent Greek-German excavations have discovered what appears to be the *demosia oikia*, or *bouleuterion/prytaneion*, on the western end of the agora (Lauter 2005, pp. 238-240, with pls. 1-2). There was a long rectangular structure with a meeting room of 13.30 m x almost 24 m (the *bouleuterion*), to which a pillar-peristyle building was adjoined. The excavator interprets this area, with its two sets of offices surrounded by a pillared hall, as the *prytaneion* or *damiorgeion*. The entire structure (*bouleuterion/damiorgeion*) was conceived of and built as a unit (28.05-10 m x 67.70 m). The three sections are assigned to three governing entities, the *boule*, a board of *damiorgoi*, and the polemarch, and it dates to 360-340 B.C. After a fire associated with Kleomenes III’s destruction of the city (222 B.C.), a second *bouleuterion* was built over part of this structure. Immediately to the south was a precinct of Zeus, probably with the epithet Homarios, with a large hearth.

⁸³⁰ [ἔδοξε τῷ π]όλει: *IG V*, 2.432 (heroic honors for Philopoimen); ἡ πόλις ἡ Μεγαλοπολεῖτων: I-MTL 48 (second century A.D.); ἡ πόλις: I-MTL 49 (second/third century A.D.); ἡ πό[λις ἡ Μεγάλη] καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων [τὸ κοινόν]: *IG V*, 2.465 (reign of Hadrian). For this last, note that the League was resurrected around this time for ceremonial purposes; what this also shows, however, is the staying power of the concept at Megalopolis, which – we should note – certainly controlled the Lykaia-Kaisareia at this time (see Chapter 5, III-IV).

⁸³¹ δόξει τῷ συνεδρίῳ: *IG V*, 2.433 (early second century B.C.), τὸ δόγμα τῶν συνέδρων: *IG V*, 2.456 (reign of Augustus).

⁸³² ἔδοξε τῷ δάμῳ καὶ τοῖς συνεδρίοις: *IG V*, 2.434-435 (reign of Augustus), I-MTL 43 (second century B.C.), I-MTL 44 (second century B.C.).

The League consisted of a general assembly of all adult male citizens (the *Myrioi*), a council (*boule*), and various magistrates, known internally as *damiorgoi* and externally (in Xenophon) as *archontes*. It is unclear if these two bodies are identical. The supreme magistrate was known as the *strategos*, indicating that his duties were primarily military in nature. I-MTL 5 adds a *toxarchos* and *hipparchos*, whose names once again stress military duties. On the structure and governance of the League, see Busolt (1926, pp. 1406-1409), who views the *Myrioi* as an assembly of hoplites. Larsen (1967, pp. 186-189, 193-195) also posits a hoplite assembly. Dušanić (1970, pp. 340-341) rejects the idea of a hoplite census and argues from a fragment of Aristotle (483 Rose) that the assembly was fully democratic. Roy (1971) examines what he views to be the essentially democratic policies of the League, while in reply Thompson 1983 argues for two factions, one democratic and one oligarchic. Roy (2000a) is a response to Thompson. Beck (1997, pp. 80-82) also stresses the democratic nature of the League. Nielsen (2002, pp. 478-485) describes the institutions and asserts that the League was egalitarian. The most recent review of the institutions and history of the early League is by Nielsen (2015, pp. 260-268). The primary literary sources for the League's history are Xen. *Hell.* 6-7 and D.S. 15.59-89.

For the history of the League in the later fourth century B.C., see Chapter 3, III, a. Here I limit myself to some thoughts on how it may have functioned.

Although we have no direct information about the constitution of the League after the 360s B.C., it is probable that the reunified League functioned under the same general principles. Decisions taken by the assembly, the *Myrioi*, were binding on all members. As a result, Megalopolis' choice to stay out of the revolt against Agis would have been interpreted as an act of defiance. Of course, this need not mean that Megalopolis was considered to be out of the League, for the case of Mantinea's refusal to use sacred funds from Olympia in 364-363 B.C. shows that policy could undergo drastic shifts very quickly. After the Mantineans sent back their share of the sacred money, the federal officials tried to arrest their policymakers, yet the resistance of Mantinea resulted in the passing of a decree in the federal assembly that ended the use of funds from Olympia. And remember that Mantinea headed an Arcadian League after the battle in 362 B.C. This episode demonstrates how quickly matters and policies could be turned on their heads. If anything, we should expect that this kind of thing happened more frequently in the later fourth century B.C. What must be kept in mind, however, is that the overall *concept and existence* of a federal state was not destroyed. Here a comparison with the situation of the Achaean League in the late fourth century B.C. is appropriate (Larsen 1968, p. 216): "[t]here does not, however, appear to have been any formal dissolution of the Confederacy. What happened was merely that so many cities were controlled from the outside that the federal government ceased to function. Hence it could be made to function again without any elaborate constitution-making, though some sort of understanding must have been reached between the cities which, so to speak, wound up and started the clock again."

Appendix VI: The Synoecism of Megalopolis

The date and geographical scope of the synoecism remain highly controversial due to disagreement among the sources.⁸³³ I agree with those who view the “foundation” as a process beginning in 371 B.C. and continuing through to the Tearless Battle (368 B.C.), after which much of the construction would have taken place. The fundamental study is by Hornblower (1990).

Niese (1899, pp. 536-537) establishes the position of those who favor Diodorus, arguing that Pausanias found μετὰ τὰ Λεοκτρικά as a simple notice in a chronological handbook (for Niese, this is equivalent to dates given as τὰ Τρωικά or τὰ Μηδικά). Busolt (1926, p. 1401; see also p. 1402, n. 1) dates the decision to found the city before the arrival of Epaminondas in winter 370/369 B.C. At p. 1407 he stresses the connection between the Thersilion and Megalopolis’ position as federal capital. Roy (1968a) follows Pausanias and considers that the original project was ambitious, and in 1968b he studies the connection linking Megalopolis, local traditions, and the development of the list of Lykaon’s descendants.

Dušanić (1970, pp. 317-331), however, argues that the decision to found a city in the Megalopolis Basin predates 371 B.C. (an idea likely going back to the fifth century B.C.), and posits two decrees issued by the federal government concerning Megalopolis: a first in 371 B.C. ordering only the synoecism of Mainalia and Parrhasia, and a second due to Epaminondas’ initiative at the beginning of 369 B.C. The latter widened the scope of the synoecism to something like that reflected in Pausanias’ account. For Dušanić, Diodorus’ date marks the beginning of the population transfer. He stresses the anti-Spartan strategic concerns, the need for a capital, and the promotion of southern Arcadia.

Braunert and Petersen (1972), on the other hand, favor the low Diodoran date and argue that Megalopolis was supposed to attract many more inhabitants than it actually did. Similarly, Moggi (1974) accepts Diodorus and considers the Pausanian material to be the result of a later forged document that aimed at the expansion of Megalopolis ca. 200 B.C. (the evidence is Livy 28.8.6 and 32.5.4-5). Buckler (1980, pp. 107-109, 240-241) likewise adopts Diodorus’ date and stresses the strategic benefits of the site. He further highlights the use of the city as a federal capital and “a foundation that might well overshadow the traditional rivalry between Tegea and Mantinea for predominance in Arkadia.” Demand (1990, pp. 111-118) follows Moggi and accepts the Diodoran account. She rejects the idea that Epaminondas founded the city in any meaningful sense.

Nielsen (2002, pp. 413-442) offers a fine summary of the whole problem. Roy (2005) highlights the importance of communication and strategic routes through the Megalopolis Basin and discusses the effects on both synoecized and non-synoecized communities. He also discusses *IG V*, 2.1, dating it to 366-363 B.C. (around the time of the Athenian-Arcadian mutual defense pact of 366 B.C.). This decree shows that the foundation took quite some time, for the Kynourians and part of the Mainalians are

⁸³³ For the date, compare the *Marmor Parium*: 370 or 369 B.C.; D.S. 15.72.4: 368/7 B.C. (after the Tearless Battle); Paus. 8.27.8: 371 B.C. For the scope, compare D.S. 15.72.4: 20 Mainalian and Parrhasian communities; Paus. 8.27: 39 communities from Mainalia, Eutresia, Aigyitis and Skiritis, Parrhasia, Kynouria, Orchomenia, and the Tripolis.

recorded independently of Megalopolis. This indicates that, for instance, Parrhasia, Eutresia, and part of Mainalia were synoecized, but other areas had not yet been incorporated (cf. Chapter 3, II, c; we know from I-MTL 51 that Mainalian Oresthasion was more in the orbit of Tegea during the second part of the fourth century B.C.; however, Roy considers that Oresthasion was incorporated, and suggests that Asea, Pallantion, Eutaia, Iasaia, and Peraitheis were outside the synoecism). In a more recent study (2007), Roy investigates the urban structure of Megalopolis, concluding that the city was constructed (particularly the nine km circuit of the city walls) with wealthy landowners and their extensive flocks in mind. He seriously questions the idea that Megalopolis was meant to serve as a federal capital, arguing that the Thersilion would have been wasteful for rare meetings of the *Myrioi*, but this could be countered if the existence of a League is admitted for the entire fourth century following 371 B.C.

Jost (1999, pp. 228-233) explores the second-order settlements left in place to serve as defensive and agricultural centers. It is possible that Lykosoura should be added to her list, for its circuit wall exhibits a construction style similar to that found at Messene.



Figure 13b: Detail of Masonry at Lykosoura Acropolis (photo by author)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, D.Q. *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*, 2nd ed., 2013.
- Adams, D.Q. and J.P. Mallory. 1997. *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, Chicago.
- Ager, S.L. 1996. *Interstate Arbitration in the Greek World, 337-90 B.C. (Hellenistic Culture and Society 18)*, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Alcock, S.A. 1993. *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge.
- Alcock, S.A. 1999. "The Pseudo-History of Messenia Unplugged," *TAPA* 129, pp. 333-341.
- Aliquot, J. 2009. *La vie religieuse au Liban sous l'Empire romain (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 189)*, Beirut, 2009.
- Allen, F.D. 1908. , Boston, New York, Chicago, and London.
- Amandry, P. 1980. "Sur les concours argiens," *BCH Suppl.* 6, pp. 211-253.
- Amit, M. 1973. *Great and Small Poleis: A Study in the Relations Between the Great Powers and Small Cities in Ancient Greece*, Brussels.
- Anthony, D.W. 2007. *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World*, Princeton.
- Aura-Jorro, F. 1999. *Diccionario micénico*, 2 vols., Madrid.
- Aymard, A. 1937. "Un ordre d'Alexandre," *REA* 39, pp. 5-28.
- Badian, E. 1967. "Agis III," *Hermes* 95, pp. 170-192.
- Barbantani, S. 2011. "Callimachus on Kings and Kingship," in *Brill's Companion to Callimachus*, ed. B. Acosta-Hughes, L. Lehnus, and S.A. Stephens, Leiden, pp. 178-200.
- Bartoněk, A. 2003. *Handbuch des mykenischen Griechisch*, Heidelberg.
- Bather, A.G. and V.W. Yorke. 1892-1893. "Excavations on the Probable Sites of Basilis and Bathos," *JHS* 13, pp. 227-231.
- Bayet, J. 1920. "Les origins de l'arcadisme romain," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 38, pp. 63-142.

- Beard, M., J. North, and S. Price. 1998. *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1: *A History*, Cambridge.
- Bechtel, F. 1917. *Die Historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle.
- Beck, H. 1997. *Polis und Koinon: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Struktur der griechischen Bundesstaaten im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (Historia Einzelschrift 114)*, Stuttgart.
- Beekes, R.S.P. 2003. "The Origin of Apollo," *JANER* 3, pp. 1-21.
- Beekes, R.S.P. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 2 vols., Leiden and Boston.
- Beloch, J. 1923. *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 2, 2nd ed., Berlin-Leipzig.
- Beloch, J. 1925. *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 4, part 1, 2nd ed., Berlin-Leipzig.
- Bennet, J. 1995. "Space Through Time: Diachronic Perspectives of the Spatial Organization of the Pylian State," in *Politeia: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age, Aegaeum* 12, eds. W.D. Niemeier and R. Laffineur, Göteborg, pp. 587-602.
- Bennet, J. 1997. "Homer and the Bronze Age," in *A New Companion to Homer*, eds. I. Morris and B. Powell, Leiden, New York, and Köln, pp. 511-534.
- Bennet, J. 1998. "The Linear B Archives and the Kingdom of Nestor," in *Sandy Pylos: An Archaeological History from Nestor to Navarino*, ed. J.L. Davis, Austin, TX, pp. 122-133.
- Bennet, J. 1998-1999. "RE-U-KO-TO-RO ZA-WE-TE: Leuktron as a secondary capital in the Pylos kingdom?," in *A-NA-QO-TA. Studies Presented to J.T. Killen, Minos* 33-34, eds. J. Bennet and J. Driessen, pp. 11-30.
- Bennet, J. 1999. "The Mycenaean conceptualization of space or Pylian geography (... yet again!)," in *Florent Studia Mycenaea. Akten des X. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1.-5. Mai 1995*, eds. S. Deger-Jalkotzy, S. Hiller, and O. Panagl, Vienna, pp. 131-157.
- Bennet, J. 2007. "Pylos: The Expansion of a Mycenaean Palatial Center," in *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces II: Revised and Expanded Second Edition*, eds. M.L. Galaty and W.A. Parkinson, Los Angeles, pp. 29-39.

- Bennet, J. 2011. "The Geography of the Mycenaean Kingdoms," in *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and Their World*, vol. 2, eds. Y. Duhoux and A. Morpurgo Davies, Leuven and Walpole, MA, pp. 135-168.
- Bennet, J. 2014. "Linear B and Homer," in *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and Their World*, vol. 3, eds. Y. Duhoux and A. Morpurgo Davies, Leuven and Walpole, MA, pp. 187-233.
- Bennett, E. and J.-P. Olivier. 1973. *The Pylos Tablets Transcribed, Part 1: Texts and Notes*, Rome.
- Bernardini, P.A. 1976. "Hekatombeia o Heraia di Argos," *Stadion* 2, pp. 213-217.
- Berve, H. 1967. *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*, 2 vols., Munich.
- Bickerman, E.J. 1952. "Origines Gentium," *CP* 47, pp. 65-81.
- Bintliff, J. (ed.). 1977. *Mycenaean Geography*, Cambridge.
- Birge, D. 1994. "Trees in the Landscape of Pausanias' *Periegesis*," *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, eds. S.E. Alcock and R. Osborne, Oxford, pp. 231-245.
- Bizard, L. and P. Roussel. 1907. "Fouilles de Délos," *BCH* 31, pp. 421-525.
- Blinkenberg C. 1941. *Lindos*, vol. 2: *Fouilles de l'acropole 1902-1914. Inscriptions*, Copenhagen.
- Borgeaud, P. 1988. *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece*, trans. K. Atlass and J. Redfield, Chicago.
- Boutsikas, E. and C. Ruggles. 2011. "Temples, Stars, and Ritual Landscapes: The Potential for Archaeoastronomy in Ancient Greece," *AJA* 115, pp. 55-68.
- Bowra, C.M. 1926. "Homeric Words in Arcadian Inscriptions," *CQ* 20, pp. 168-176.
- Bowersock, G.W. 1965. *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford.
- Boyd, M.J. 2002. *Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean Mortuary Practices in the Southern and Western Peloponnese (BAR International Series 1009)*, Oxford.
- Braunert, H. and T. Petersen. 1972. "Megalopolis: Anspruch und Wirklichkeit," *Chiron* 2, pp. 57-90.

- Bremmer, J.N. 2007. "Myth and Ritual in Greek Human Sacrifice: Lykaon, Polyxena and the Case of the Rhodian Criminal," in *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice* (*Studies in the History and Anthropology of Religion* 1), ed. J.N. Bremmer, Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA, pp. 55-79.
- Buck, C.D. 1955. *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago.
- Buckler, J. 1980. *The Theban Hegemony*, Cambridge, MA.
- Burelli Bergese, L. 1995. *Tra Ethne e Poleis: Pagine di Storia Arcade*, Pisa.
- Burkert, W. 1983. *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrifice and Ritual*, trans. P. Bing, Berkeley.
- Burkert, W. 1985. *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, trans. J. Raffan, Malden, MA, 1985.
- Busolt, G. 1926. *Griechische Staatskunde*, vol. 2, 3rd ed.
- Buxton, R. 1987. "Wolves and Werewolves in Greek Thought," in *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, ed. J.N. Bremmer, London and New York, pp. 60-79.
- Buxton, R. 2013. *Myths and Tragedies in their Ancient Greek Contexts*, Oxford.
- Cabanes, P. 1988. "Les concours des Naia de Dodone," *Nikephoros* 1, pp. 49-84.
- Cabanes, P. and N. Ceka. 1997. *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire*, vol. 1: *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonia*; vol. 2: *Inscriptions d'Apollonia d'Illyrie* (*Études épigraphiques* 2), Athens.
- Callmer, C. 1943. *Studien zur Geschichte Arkadiens*, Lund.
- Camia, F. and M. Kantiréa. 2010. "The Imperial Cult in the Peloponnese," in *Roman Peloponnese*, vol. 3, *Society, Economy and Culture under the Roman Empire: Continuity and Innovation* (*Meletemata* 63), eds. A.D. Rizakis and Cl.E. Lepenioti, pp. 375-406.
- Camp, J.M. 2001. *The Archaeology of Athens*, New Haven and London.
- Campbell, J.K. 1964. *Honour, Family and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community*, Oxford.
- Carlier, P. 1984. *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg.

- Carothers, J.J. 1992. "The Pylian Kingdom: A case study of an early state," (diss. University of California, Los Angeles).
- Cartledge, P. and A.J.S. Spawforth. 2002. *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A tale of two cities*, London and New York.
- Casevitz, M. 2010. "Noire Arcadie," in *Paysage et religion en Grèce antique: Mélanges offerts à Madeleine Jost*, eds. P. Carlier and C. Lerouge-Cohen, Paris, pp. 13-16.
- M. Casevitz, M. Jost, and J. Marcadé (eds.). 1998. *Pausanias: Description de la Grèce. Tome VIII. Livre VIII. L'Arcadie*, Paris.
- Caspari, M.O.B. 1917. "A Survey of Greek Federal Coinage," *JHS* 37, pp. 168-183.
- Chadwick, J. 1957. "Potnia," *Minos* 5, pp. 117-129.
- Chadwick, J. 1963. "The Two Provinces of Pylos," *Minos* 7, pp. 125-141.
- Chadwick, J. 1972. "The Mycenaean Documents," in *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition: Reconstructing a Bronze Age regional environment*, eds. W.A. McDonald and G.R. Rapp, Jr., Minneapolis, pp. 100-116.
- Chadwick, J. 1973. "ΕΣΤΙ ΠΥΛΟΣ ΠΡΟ ΠΥΛΟΙΟ," *Minos* 14, pp. 39-59.
- Chadwick, J. 1976. *The Mycenaean World*, Cambridge.
- Chadwick, J. 1977a. "Arcadia in the Pylos Tablets?" *Minos* 16, pp. 219-227.
- Chadwick, J. 1977b. "The Interpretation of Mycenaean Documents and Pylian Geography," in *Mycenaean Geography*, ed. J. Bintliff, Cambridge, pp. 36-39, with discussion at pp. 39-40.
- Chadwick, J. and L. Baumbach. 1963. "The Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary," *Glotta* 41, pp. 157-271.
- Chaniotis, A. 1992. "Die Geschichte von Amnisos von Homer bis zur Eroberung Kretas durch die Türken," in *Amnisos: Nach den archäologischen, historischen und epigraphischen Zeugnissen des Altertums und der Neuzeit*, ed. J. Schäfer, Berlin, pp. 73-128.
- Chaniotis, A. 2011. "Festivals and Contests in the Greek World," in *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA)*, vol. 7: *Festivals and Contests*, Los Angeles, pp. 1-172.

- Chantraine, P. 1933. *La Formation des noms en grec ancien*, Paris.
- Chantraine, P. 1999. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, Histoire des mots*, Paris.
- Charneux, P. 1983. "Sur quelques inscriptions d'Argos," *BCH* 107, pp. 256-262.
- Charneux, P. 1985. "Inscriptions d'Argos," *BCH* 109, pp. 357-384.
- Charneux, P. and R. Ginouvès. 1956. "Reconnaissances en Arcadie: Fortifications de Paliocastro, Saint Nicolas et Hellenico," *BCH* 80, pp. 522-546.
- Christesen, P. 2007. *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History*, Cambridge and New York.
- Clackson, J. 2000. "Time depth in Indo-European," in *Time Depth in Historical Linguistics*, eds. C. Renfrew, A. McMahon, and L. Trask, Cambridge, pp. 441-454.
- Claridge, A. 1998. *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*, Oxford and New York.
- Clauss, J.J. 1986. "Lies and Allusions: The Addressee and Date of Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*," *ClAnt* 5, pp. 155-170.
- Cline, E.H. and S.M. Stannish. 2011. "Sailing the Great Green Sea? Amenhotep III's "Aegean List" from Kom el-Hetan, Once More," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 3, pp. 6-16.
- Clinton, K. 1992. *Myth and Cult: The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Stockholm.
- Colvin, S. 2006. "Autosegmental Phonology and Word-Internal -h- in Mycenaean Greek," *Glotta* 82, pp. 36-54.
- Cook, A.B. 1914. *Zeus*, vol. 1, Cambridge.
- Cook, A.B. 1925. *Zeus*, vol. 2., Cambridge.
- Cooper, F.A. 1996. *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas*, vol. 1: *The Architecture*, Princeton.
- Cooper, F.A. and J. Wilson Meyers. 1981. "Reconnaissance of a Greek Mountain City," *JFA* 8, pp. 123-134.

- Cornell, T.J. 1995. *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars* (c. 1000-264 B.C.), London.
- Cosmopoulos, M.B. 2006. "The Political Landscape of Mycenaean States: *A-pu₂* and the Hither Province of Pylos," *AJA* 110, pp. 205-228.
- Cosmopoulos, M.B. 2014. "Cult, Continuity, and Social Memory: Mycenaean Eleusis and the Transition to the Early Iron Age," *AJA* 118, pp. 401-427.
- Coulson, W.D.E. 1991. "The 'Protogeometric' from Polis Reconsidered," *BSA* 86, pp. 43-64.
- Criusculo, L. 2003. "Agoni e politica alla corte di Alessandria: Riflessioni su alcuni epigrammi di Posidippo," *Chiron* 33, pp. 311-322.
- Crowther, N.B. 1988. "The Age-Category of Boys at Olympia," *Phoenix* 42, pp. 304-308.
- Crowther, N.B. 1994. "The Role of Heralds and Trumpeters at Greek Athletic Festivals," *Nikephoros* 7, pp. 133-135.
- Crowther, N.B. 2004. *Athletika: Studies on the Olympic Games and Greek Athletics* (*Nikephoros Beihefte* 11), Hildesheim.
- Cultraro, M. 2005. "The LH IIIC Period in Arcadia and Imports from Southern Italy," in *Ancient Arcadia. Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arcadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002*, ed. in E. Østby, Athens, pp. 17-33.
- Cusset, C. 2011. "Other Poetic Voices in Callimachus," in *Brill's Companion to Callimachus*, ed. B. Acosta-Hughes, L. Lehnus, and S.A. Stephens, Leiden, pp. 454-473.
- Cuyper, M. 2004. "Prince and Principle: The Philosophy of Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*," *Hellenistica Groningana* 7, pp. 95-116.
- D'Agostino, B. 1977. "Grecs et «indigènes» sur la côte tyrrhénienne au VIIe siècle: la transmission des idéologies entre élites sociales," *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 32, pp. 3-20.
- Datsouli-Stavridi, A. 1999. *Αρχαιολογική Συλλογή Μεγαλόπολης: Κατάλογος*, Athens.
- Daux, G. 1963. "Note sur un inscription de Cyrène," *BCH* 87, pp. 388-390.

- Davies, M. 1988. "Stesichorus' Geryoneis and its Folk-Tale Origins," *CQ* 38, pp. 277-290.
- Davis, G. 2009. "Geology of the Sanctuary of Zeus, Mount Lykaion, Southern Peloponnesos, Greece, and Field Guide," in *Geology of the Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion, Southern Peloponnesos, Greece*, ed. G.H. Davis, *Journal of the Virtual Explorer*, pp. 1-58; <http://virtualexplorer.com.au/journal/2009/33>.
- De Fidio, P. 1977. *I dosmoi a Poseidon: una terra sacra di età micenea (Incunabula Greca 65)*, Rome.
- de Vaan, M.A.C. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*, Leiden and Boston.
- Decker, D. 1995. *Sport in der griechischen Antike: Vom minoischen Wettkampf bis zu den Olympischen Spielen*, Munich.
- Delcourt, A. 2001. "Évandre à Rome: réflexion autour de quatre interprétations de la légende," *Latomus* 60, pp. 829-863.
- Demakopoulou, K. 2007. "Laconia and Arcadia in LH III C Middle: Pottery and other Finds," in *LH III C Chronology and Synchronisms II: LH III C Middle*, eds. S. Deger-Jalkotzy and M. Zavadil, Vienna, pp. 161-174.
- Demakopoulou, K. and J.H. Crouwel. 1998. "Some Mycenaean Tombs at Palaioikastro, Arcadia," *BSA* 93, pp. 269-283.
- Demand, N.H. 1990. *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation*, Oklahoma.
- Desborough V.R. d'A. 1964. *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors*, Oxford.
- Deshours, N. 2006. *Les mystères d'Andania: Étude d'épigraphie et d'histoire religieuse*, Paris.
- Dickins, G. and K. Kourouniotis. 1906-1907. "Damophon of Messene: II," *BSA* 13, pp. 357-404.
- Dickinson, O.T.P.K. 1994. *The Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge.
- Dickinson, O.T.P.K. 2006. *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age: Continuity and change between the twelfth and eighth centuries BC*, London and New York.

- Dignas, B. 2012. "Rituals and the Construction of Identity in Attalid Pergamon," in *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World*, eds. B. Dignas and R.R.R. Smith, Oxford and New York, pp. 119-143.
- Dixon, M.D. 2007. "Corinth, Greek Freedom, and the Diadochoi, 323-301 B.C.," in *Alexander's Empire: Formulation to Decay*, eds. W. Heckel, L.A. Tritle, and P.V. Wheatley, Claremont, CA, pp. 151-178.
- Dobias-Lalou C. and A. Laronde. 1977. "Un nouveau fragment de la stèle des σῦλλα de Cyrène," *REG* 90, pp. 1-14.
- Dow, S. 1937. "Athenian Decrees of 216-212 B.C.," *HSCP* 48, pp. 105-126.
- Dow, S. 1941. "A Family of Sculptors from Tyre," *Hesperia* 10, pp. 351-360.
- Dowden, K. 1989. *Death and the Maiden: Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology*, London and New York.
- Dowden, K. 1992. *The uses of Greek Mythology*, London and New York.
- Drews, R. 1983. *Basileus: The Evidence for Kingship in Geometric Greece*, New Haven and London.
- Dubois, L. 1986. *Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien*, 3 vols., Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Dubois, L. 1988. "À propos d'une nouvelle inscription arcadienne," *BCH* 112, pp. 279-290.
- Duev, R. 2008. "Zeus and Dionysus in Light of the Linear B Records," *Pasiphae* 1, pp. 223-230.
- Duhoux, Y. 2013. *Paradeigmata: recueil d'inscriptions grecques dialectales*, vol. 1: *Le mycénien*, Nancy.
- Dunkel, G.E. 1990. "Vater Himmels Gattin," *Die Sprache* 34, pp. 1-26.
- Dušanić, S. 1970. *Arkadski Savez IV Veka* (with English Summary), Belgrade.
- Dušanić, S. 1978. "Notes épigraphiques sur l'histoire arcadienne du IV^e siècle," *BCH* 102, pp. 333-358.
- Eckstein, A. 1997. "*Physis* and *Nomos*: Polybius, the Romans, and Cato the Elder," in *Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography*, eds. P. Cartledge, P. Garnsey, and E. Gruen, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, pp. 175-198.

- Eder, B. 2001. "Continuity of Bronze Age Cult at Olympia? The Evidence of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Pottery," in *Potnia: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Acts of the 8th International Aegean Conference at Göteborg University, 12-15 April 2000*, *Aegaeum* 22, eds. R. Hägg and R. Laffineur, Liège, pp. 201-209.
- Eder, B. 2011. "Zu historischen Geographie Triphyliens in mykenischer Zeit," in *Österreichische Forschungen zur Ägäischen Bronzezeit 2009. Akten der Tagung vom 6. bis 7. März 2009 am Fachbereich Altertumswissenschaften der Universität Salzburg*, eds. F. Blakolmer, C. Reinholdt, J. Weilhartner, and G. Nightingale, Vienna, pp. 105-117.
- Elderkin, G.W. 1940. "Bronze Statuettes of Zeus Keraunios," *AJA* 44, pp. 225-233.
- Eliade, M. 2005. *The Myth of Eternal Return: Cosmos and History*, New York.
- Errington, R.M. 1977. "Diodorus Siculus and the Chronology of the Early Diadochoi, 320-311 B.C.," *Hermes* 105, pp. 478-504.
- Fantuzzi, M. 2011. "Speaking with Authority: Polyphony in Callimachus' *Hymns*," in *Brill's Companion to Callimachus*, ed. B. Acosta-Hughes, L. Lehnus, and S.A. Stephens, Leiden, pp. 429-453.
- Fabre-Serris, J. 2008. *Rome, l'Arcadie et la mer des Argonautes: Essai sur la naissance d'une Mythologie des origines en Occident*, Villeneuve d'Ascq.
- Faure, P. 1964. *Fonctions des cavernes crétoises*, Paris.
- Finley, M.I. 1979. *The World of Odysseus*, rev. ed., London.
- Fontenrose, J. 1966. *The Ritual Theory of Myth*, Berkeley.
- Forrest, W.G. 2000. "The Pre-polis Polis," in *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*, eds. R. Brock and S. Hodkinson, Oxford, pp. 280-292.
- Forsythe, G. 2005. *A Critical History of Early Rome: From Prehistory to the First Punic War*, Berkeley.
- Fowler, R.L. 2013. *Early Greek Mythography*, vol. 2: *A Commentary*, Oxford.
- Francotte, H. 1907. *La polis grecque: Recherches sur la formation et l'organisation des cités, des ligues et des confédérations dan la Grèce ancienne*, Paderborn.

- Fränkel, M. 1898. "Eine Inschrift aus Argos," *SitzPrAkad Berlin*, pp. 635-644.
- Funke, P. and M. Haake, eds. 2013. *Greek Federal States and their Sanctuaries: Identity and Integration*, Stuttgart.
- Frisk, H. 1960. *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2. vols., Heidelberg.
- Gabba, E. 1991. *Dionysius and the History of Archaic Rome (Sather Classical Lectures 56)*, Berkeley.
- Galaty, M.L. 2010. "Wedging Clay: Combining Competing Models of Mycenaean Pottery Industries," in *Political Economies of the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. D.J. Pullen, Oxford, pp. 230-247.
- Gallavotti, C. 1956. "Letturi di Testi Micenei," *PP* 11, pp. 5-24.
- Gallou, C.K. 2008. "Αρκαδικές θεριομορφικές λατρείες και ο Μυκηναϊκός τους απόηχος," in *ΙΣΤΟΡΙΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΑΡΚΑΔΙΑ. ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ / Proceedings of the International Symposium in honour of James Roy. 50 ΧΡΟΝΙΑ ΑΡΚΑΣ (1958-2008)*, ed. Y.A. Pikoulas, Stemnitsa, pp. 91-104.
- Ganter, A. 2013. "ATwo-sided Story of Integration: The Cultic Dimension of Boiotian Ethnogenesis," in *Greek Federal States and their Sanctuaries: Identity and Integration*, eds. P. Funke and M. Haake, Stuttgart, pp. 85-105.
- García Ramón, J.L. 2009. "Mycenaean Onomastics, Poetic Phraseology, and Indo-European Comparison: The Man's name *pu₂-ke-qi-ri*," in *Papers in Indo-European Studies, Conference Kyoto University, 11-12.07.2007*, eds. K. Yoshida and B. Vine, Bremen, pp. 1-26.
- García Ramón, J.L. 2011. "Mycenaean Onomastics," in *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and Their World*, vol. 2, eds. Y. Duhoux and A. Morpurgo Davies, Leuven and Walpole, MA, pp. 213-251.
- García Ramón, J.L. 2012. "Anthroponymica Mycenaea: 8. Micénico *qe-re-ma-o* /K^wēlemā^ho-/ 'que nusca desde lejos', τηλόθε μεταμαϊόμενος ... ἄγραν (Píndaro)," *Annali del Dipartimento di Studi Letterari, Linguistici e Comparati Sezione linguistica*, pp. 149-164.
- Gawlinski, L. 2012. *The Sacred Law of Andania: A New Text with Commentary*, Berlin and Boston.

- Geldner, K.F. 2003. *Der Rig-Veda, aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche Übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen (Harvard Oriental Series 63)*, Cambridge, MA and London.
- Gerin, D. 1986. "Les statères de la Ligue Arcadienne," *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau* 65, pp. 3-12.
- Gershenson, D. 1991. *Apollo the Wolf God*, McLean, VA.
- Glombiowski, K. 1994. "The Campaign of Cyrus the Younger and the Retreat of the 'Ten Thousand': the Chronology," *Pomoerium* 1, pp. 37-44.
- Golden, M. 1998. *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge.
- Golden, M. 2004. *Sport in the Ancient World from A to Z*, London and New York.
- Gossage, A.J. 1954. "The Date of IG V (2) 516 (SIG³ 800)," *BSA* 49, pp. 51-56.
- Graf, F. 1993. *Greek Mythology: An Introduction*, trans. T. Marier, Baltimore.
- Green, S.J. 2004. *Ovid, Fasti I: A Commentary*, Leiden and Boston.
- Greenewalt, C.H. Jr. 1995. "Sardis in the Age of Xenophon," *Dans les pas des Dix-Mille: Peuples et pays du Proche-Orient vus par un Grec. Actes de la Table Ronde Internationale, organisée à l'initiative du GRACO Toulouse, 3-4 février 1995 (Pallas 43)*, pp. 125-145.
- Guarducci, M. 1934. "I culti di Andania," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 10, pp. 174-204.
- Habicht, C. 1997. *Athens from Alexander to Antony*, trans. D.L. Schneider, Cambridge, MA and London.
- Habicht, C. 2000. "Neues aus Messene," *ZPE* 130, pp. 121-126.
- Habicht, C. 2006. "Versäumter Götterdienst," *Historia* 55, pp. 153-166.
- Hägg, R. 1981. "Official and Popular Cults in Mycenaean Greece," in *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age*, eds. R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, Stockholm, pp. 35-40.
- Hajnal, I. 1995. *Studien zum mykenischen Kasussystem*, Berlin.
- Hall, J.M. 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, 1997.

- Hall, J.M. 2005. "Arcades his oris: Greek Projections on the Italian ethnoscape?" in *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*, ed. E. Gruen, Stuttgart, pp. 259-284.
- Hall, J.M. 2007. *A History of the Archaic Greek World, ca. 1200-479 B.C.*, Malden, MA, Oxford, and Carlton.
- Hall, J.M. 2015. "Federalism and Ethnicity," in *Greek Federal States*, eds. H. Beck and P. Funke, Cambridge, pp. 30-48.
- Hammond, N.G.L. 1959. *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.*, Oxford.
- Hannah, R. 2009. *Time in Antiquity*, London and New York.
- Harrison, J. 1927. *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, rev. ed., Cambridge.
- Harrison, S.J. 1984. "Evander, Jupiter and Arcadia," *CQ* 34, pp. 487-488.
- Head, B.V. 1911. *Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics*, 2nd ed., Oxford.
- Heinrichs, J. 2015. "Military Integration in Late Archaic Arkadia: New Evidence from a Bronze Pinax (ca. 500 B.C.) of the Lykaion," in *The Many Faces of War in the Ancient World*, eds. W. Heckel, S. Müller, and G. Wrightson, Newcastle upon Tyne, pp. 1-89.
- Hejnic, J. 1961. *Pausanias the Perieget and the Archaic History of Arcadia*, Prague.
- Hiller, S. 2011. "Mycenaean Religion and Cult," in *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and Their World*, vol. 2, eds. Y. Duhoux and A. Morpurgo Davies, Leuven and Walpole, MA, pp. 169-212.
- Hiller von Gaertringen, F. 1911. Die Phylarchos Inschrift von Tegea, *MDAI* 36, pp. 349-360.
- Hoekstra, A. 1981. *Epic Verse Before Homer: Three Studies*, Amsterdam, Oxford, and New York.
- Holmberg, E.J. 1944. *The Swedish Excavations at Asea in Arcadia*, Lund.
- Hoover, O.D. 2011. *Handbook of Coins of the Peloponnesos: Achaia, Phleiasia, Sikyonia, Elis, Triphylia, Messenia, Lakonia, Argolis, and Arkadia, Sixth to First*

- Centuries B.C. (The Handbook of Greek Coinage Series, vol. 5)*, Lancaster and London.
- Hope Simpson, R. 1981. *Mycenaean Greece*, New Jersey.
- Hope Simpson, R. 2014. *Mycenaean Messenia and the Kingdom of Pylos*, Philadelphia.
- Hope Simpson, R. and O.T.P.K. Dickinson. 1979. *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilization in the Bronze Age*, vol. 1: *The Mainland and the Islands*, Göteborg.
- Horden, P. and N. Purcell. 2000. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, Malden, MA, Oxford, and Carlton.
- Hornblower, S. 1990. "When Was Megalopolis Founded?" *BSA* 85, pp. 71-77.
- Hornblower, S. 2011. *The Greek World, 479-323 B.C.*, 4th ed., London and New York.
- Horrocks, G.C. 1980. "The Antiquity of the Greek Epic Tradition: Some New Evidence," *PCPS*, New Series 26, pp. 1-11.
- Hoskins Walbank, M.E. 2010. "The Cults of Roman Corinth: Public Ritual and Personal Belief," in *Roman Peloponnese*, vol. 3, *Society, Economy and Culture under the Roman Empire: Continuity and Innovation (Meletemata 63)*, eds. A.D. Rizakis and Cl.E. Lepenioti, pp. 357-374.
- Householder, F.W. Jr. 1960-1961. "Early Greek -j-," *Glotta* 39, pp. 179-190.
- Howe, T. 2008. *Pastoral Politics: Animals, Agriculture and Society in Ancient Greece (Publications of the Association of Ancient Historians 9)*, Claremont.
- Howell, R. 1970. "A Survey of Eastern Arcadia in Prehistory," *BSA* 65, pp. 79-127.
- Hübinger, U. 1992. "On Pan's Iconography and the Cult in the Sanctuary of Pan on the Slopes of Mt. Lykaion," in *The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods: Proceedings of the First International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organised by the Swedish Institute at Athens and the European Cultural Centre of Delphi (Delphi, 16-18 Novembre 1990)*, ed. R. Hägg, Liège, pp. 189-207.
- Hübinger, U. 1993. "Bronzestatuetten aus dem 'Pan'-Heiligtum am Südabhang des Lykaion," in *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia: proceedings of an international conference held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, April 10-14, 1992*, eds. O. Palagia and W. Coulson, Oxford, pp. 25-31.

- Hughes, D.D. 1991. *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece*, London and New York.
- Ilievski, P. 1959. "The Adverbial Suffix -θεν in Mycenaean," *ZivaAnt* 9, pp. 119-123.
- Ilievski, P. 1987. "MN a-ko-ro-qo-ro and the terms for 'farmer' in the Linear B Texts," in *Tractata Mycenaea: Proceedings of the Eighth International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies, Held in Ohrid (15-20 September 1985)*, eds. P. Ilievski and L. Crepajac, Skopje, pp. 151-162.
- Ilievski, P. 1999. "Interpretation of some Mycenaean Personal Names: Nomina theophora," in *Floreat Studia Mycenaea. Akten des X. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1.-5. Mai 1995*, eds. S. Deger-Jalkotzy, S. Hiller, and O. Panagl, Vienna, pp. 299-311.
- Immerwahr, W. 1891. *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens*, vol. 1: *Die Arkadischen Kulte*, Leipzig.
- Isager, S. and J.E. Skydsgaard. 1992. *Ancient Greek Agriculture: An Introduction*, London and New York.
- Jacoby, F. 1904. *Das Marmor Parium*, Berlin.
- Janko, R. 1982. *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic development in epic diction*, Cambridge.
- Janko, R. 1992. *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. 4: *Books 13-16*, Cambridge.
- Jeffery, L.H. (rev. A.W. Johnston). 1990. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.*, 2nd ed., Oxford.
- Jenkins, R. 1989. "Virgil and Arcadia," *JRS* 79, pp. 26-39.
- Jones, N.F. 1987. *Public Organization in Ancient Greece: A Documentary Study*, Philadelphia.
- Jost, M. 1973. "Pausanias en Mégalopolitide," *Revue des études anciennes* 75, pp. 241-267.
- Jost, M. 1975. "Statuettes de bronze provenant de Lykosoura," *BCH* 99, pp. 339-364.
- Jost, M. 1985. *Sanctuaires et Cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris.

- Jost, M. 1994. "The Distribution of Sanctuaries in Civic Space in Arkadia," in *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, eds. S.E. Alcock and R. Osborne, Oxford, pp. 217-230.
- Jost, M. 1999. "Les schémas de peuplement de l'Arcadie aux époques archaïque et classique," in *Defining Ancient Arkadia*, eds. T.H. Nielsen and J. Roy, Copenhagen, pp. 192-247.
- Jost, M. 2002. "À propos des sacrifices humains dans le sanctuaire de Zeus du mont Lycée," in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June 1994*, Stockholm, pp. 183-186.
- Jost, M. 2003. "Mystery Cults in Arcadia," in *Greek Mysteries: The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults*, ed. M.B. Cosmopoulos, London, pp. 143-168.
- Jost, M. 2007. "The Religious System in Arkadia," in *A Companion to Greek Religion*, ed. D. Ogden, Malden, MA and Oxford, pp. 264-279.
- Jost, M. 2012. "De Pallantion d'Arcadie à Pallantium du Latium: fêtes «arcadiennes» et fêtes romaines (Denys d'Halicarnasse I, 32, 3-33, 3)," *Kernos* 25, pp. 103-123.
- Jost, M. and C. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe. 2010. "La vie religieuse en Arcadie à l'époque du haut-empire," in *Roman Peloponnese*, vol. 3, *Society, Economy and Culture under the Roman Empire: Continuity and Innovation (Meletemata 63)*, eds. A.D. Rizakis and Cl.E. Lepenioti, pp. 291-308.
- Kantiréa, M. 2007. *Les dieux et les dieux Augustes: Le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens. Études épigraphiques et archéologiques (Meletemata 50)*, Athens.
- Karapanagiotou, A.V. "Preliminary Notices on the Excavation of a Classical Town at Kyparissia, Gortynia," in *Ancient Arcadia. Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arcadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002*, ed. E. Østby, Athens, pp. 331-350.
- Karapanagiotou, A.V. 2006. "Δήμος Ηραίας," *ArchDelt* 61, pp. 359-361.
- Karapanagiotou, A.V. 2007. "Λουτρά Ηραίας: Νέο Μυκηναϊκό νεκροταφείο στη βορειοδυτική Αρκαδία," in *Πρακτικά Ζ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών (Πύργος-Γαστούνη-Αμαλιάδα 11-17 Σεπτεμβρίου 2005)*, Athens, pp. 260-272."

- Karapanagiotou, A.V. 2012. “Γορτυνία, Η γη των ποταμών,” in *Αρχαιολογία, Πελοπόννησος*, ed. Chr. Kardara, Athens, pp. 251-257.
- Kavvadias, P. 1893 *Fouilles de Lycosura*, Athens.
- Keen, A.G. 1998. *Dynastic Lycia: A Political History of the Lycians & Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c. 545-362 B.C.*, Leiden, Boston, and Köln.
- Kempen, Y. 1992. *Krieger, Boten und Athleten. Untersuchungen zum Langlauf in der griechischen Antike (Studien zur Sportgeschichte 1)*, Sankt Augustin.
- Kerényi, C. 1958. *The Gods of the Greeks*, Baltimore.
- Kerényi, C. 1975. *Zeus and Hera: Archetypal Image of Father, Husband, and Wife*, Princeton.
- Kiechle, F. 1962. “Ostarkdische Ortsnamen auf pylischen Linear B-Tafeln: Ein Beitrag zur Besiedlungsgeschichte Arkadiens,” *Kadmos* 1, pp. 98-116.
- Kirk, G.S. 1990. *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. 2: *Books 5-8*, Cambridge.
- Kitchen, K.A. 1966. “Aegean Place Names in a List of Amenophis III,” *BASOR* 181, pp. 23-24.
- Klee, T. 1918. *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griechischen Festen*, Leipzig and Berlin.
- Kloekhorst, A. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of the Inherited Hittite Lexicon*, Leiden and Boston.
- Knauss, J. 1988. “Der Damm der Takka-See beim alten Tegea (Arkadien, Peloponnes),” *AM* 103, pp. 25-36.
- Knoepfler, D. 2015. “The Euboian League – an ‘irregular’ *koinon*?” in *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*, eds. H. Beck and P. Funke, Cambridge, pp. 158-178.
- Koehl, R.B. 1986. “The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Passage,” *JHS* 106, pp. 99-110.
- Kosmetatou, E. 2003. “The Attalids of Pergamon,” in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, ed. A. Erskine, Malden, MA, Oxford, and Carlton, pp. 159-174.

- Kotsidou, H. 2000. *Τιμὴ καὶ δόξα: Ehrungen hellenistischer Herrscher im griechischen Mutterland und in Kleinasien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der archäologischen Denkmäler*, Berlin.
- Kourou, N. 2001. "The Sacred Tree in Greek Art: Mycenaean Versus Near Eastern Traditions," in *La Questione delle Influenze Vicino-Orientali sulla Religione Greca*, eds. S. Ribichini, M. Rocchi, and P. Xella, Roma, pp. 31-54.
- Kourouniotis, K. 1902. "Ανασκαφή ἱεροῦ Νομίου Πανός," *Prakt*, pp. 72-75.
- Kourouniotis, K. 1904. "Ανασκαφή Λυκαίου," *Prakt*, coll. 153-214.
- Kourouniotis, K. 1905. "Κατάλογοι Λυκαιονικῶν," *ArchEph*, pp. 161-178.
- Kourouniotis, K. 1909. "Ανασκαφή Λυκαίου," *Prakt*, pp. 185-200.
- Kourouniotis, K. 1912. "Τὸ ἐν Λυκοσοῦραι Μέγαρον τῆς Δεσποίνας," *ArchEph*, pp. 142-161.
- Kraay, C.M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, London.
- Kunze, E. 1991. *Olympische Forschung*, vol. 21: *Beinschienen*, Berlin and New York.
- Kunze, M. 1991. *The Pergamon Altar: Its Rediscovery, History, and Reconstruction*, Berlin.
- Kuttner, A. 1995. "Republican Rome takes a look at Pergamon," *HSCP* 97, pp. 157-178.
- Kyle, D.G. 2015. *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*, 2nd ed., Malden, MA, Oxford, and Chichester.
- Lafond, Y. 1998. "Les concours locaux dans le Péloponnèse," in *Atti dell' XI Congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina, Rome, 18-24 settembre 1997*, Rome, pp. 235-241.
- Lafond, Y. 2006. *La mémoire des cités dans le Péloponnèse d'époque romaine (II^e siècle av. J.-C.-III^e siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Rennes.
- Lamb, W. 1925-1926. "Arcadian Bronze Statuettes," *BSA* 27, pp. 133-148.
- Lane, M.F. 2012a. "Linear B wo-wo/wo-wi-ja," *Pasiphae* 6, pp. 117-183.

- Lane, M.F. 2012b. "Landholding at pa-ki-ja-na: toward spatial modeling of Mycenaean agricultural estates," *Pasiphae* 6, pp. 59-115.
- Lang, M. 1969. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia*, vol. II: *The Frescoes*, Princeton.
- Langdon, M.K. 1976. *A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos (Hesperia Suppl. 16)*, Princeton.
- Larsen, J.A.O. 1968. *Greek Federal States*, Oxford.
- Larson, J. 2001. *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore*, Oxford.
- Latacz, J. 2004. *Troy and Homer: Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery*, trans. K. Windle and R. Ireland, Oxford and New York.
- Lattimore, R. 1959 (trans.). *Hesiod*, Ann Arbor.
- H. Lauter, "Megalopolis: Ausgrabungen auf der Agora 1991-2002," in *Ancient Arcadia. Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arcadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002*, ed. E. Østby, Athens, pp. 235-248.
- Lazzarini, M.L. 1976. *Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica*, Rome.
- Leake, W.M. 1968. *Travels in the Morea*, vol. 2, Amsterdam.
- Lee, D.J.N. 1962. "Λυκάβας and others," *Glotta* 40, pp. 168-182.
- Lejeune, M. 1958. *Mémoires de Philologie Mycénienne*, vol. 1, Paris.
- Lejeune, M. 1971. *Mémoires de Philologie Mycénienne*, vol. 2, Rome.
- Lejeune, M. 1972. *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*, Paris.
- Lintott, A. 2004. "Sula: Reprisal by Seizure in Greek Inter-Community Relations," *CQ* 54, pp. 340-353.
- Leonardos, V. 1896a. "Ἀνασκαφαὶ τοῦ ἐν Λυκοσούραι ἱεροῦ Δεσποίνας," *Prakt*, pp. 95-126.
- Leonardos, V. 1896b. "Λυκοσούρας ἐπιγραφαί," *EphArch*, pp. 217-242.
- Leukart, A. 1994. *Die frü griechischen Nomina auf -tas und -as*, Vienna.

- Levi, P. (ed. and trans.). 1979. *Pausanias, Guide to Greece*, vol. 2: *Southern Greece*, London and New York.
- Levy, E. 1967. "Sondages à Lykosoura et date de Damophon," *BCH* 91, pp. 518-545.
- Lockwood, W.B. 1994. "LYNX: The Motivation of the Name," *Glotta* 72, pp. 41-43.
- Loucas, I. and E. Loucas. 1988. "The Megaron of Lykosoura and Some Prehistoric Telesteria," *JPR* 2, pp. 25-34.
- Loucas-Durie, É. 1992. "L'élément orgiastique dans la religion arcadienne," *Kernos* 5, pp. 87-96.
- Luraghi, N. 2008. *The Ancient Messenians: Constructions of Ethnicity and Memory*, Cambridge.
- MacKillop, J. 2004. *A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* (Oxford Online).
- Malkin, I. 1998. *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity*, Berkeley.
- Mallory, J.P. 1989. *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, London.
- Manganaro, G. 1990. "Due Studi di numismatica greca," *AnnPisa* 20, pp. 419-427.
- Marcadé, J. 1953. *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs*, vol. 1, Paris.
- Marcadé, J. 1957. *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs*, vol. 2, Paris.
- Marinatos, N. 2014. *Art and Religion in Thera: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society*, Athens.
- Marinatos, Sp. 1962. "Die Wanderung des Zeus," *AA* 77, coll. 903-916.
- Matasović, R. 2009. *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic*, Leiden.
- Mayor, A., J. Colarusso, and D. Saunders. 2014. "Making Sense of Nonsense Inscriptions Associated with Amazons and Scythians on Athenian Vases," *Hesperia* 83, pp. 447-493.
- Mayrhofer, M. 1976. *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen / A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, vol. 3: *Y-H*, Heidelberg.
- Mayrhofer, M. 1986. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, vol. I, fasc. 1, Heidelberg.

- Mayrhofer, M. 1992. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoeuropäischen*, vol. 2, fasc. 11, Heidelberg.
- McDonald, W.A. and R. Hope Simpson. 1961. "Prehistoric Habitation in Southwestern Peloponnese," *AJA* 65, pp. 221-260.
- McDonald, W.A. and R. Hope Simpson. 1964. "Further Exploration in Southwestern Peloponnese: 1962-1963," *AJA* 68, pp. 229-245.
- McDonald, W.A. and G.R. Rapp, Jr. 1972. *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition: Reconstructing a Bronze Age regional environment*, Minneapolis.
- McInerney, J. 1999. *The Folds of Parnassos: Land and Ethnicity in Ancient Phocis*, Austin.
- McInerney, J. 2001. "Ethnos and Ethnicity in Early Greece," in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, ed. I. Malkin, Cambridge, MA, pp. 51-73.
- McInerney, J. 2010. *The Cattle of the Sun: Cows and Culture in the World of the Ancient Greeks*, Princeton and Oxford.
- McInerney, J. 2013. "Making Phokian Space: Sanctuary and Community in the Definition of Phokis," in *Greek Federal States and their Sanctuaries: Identity and Integration*, eds. P. Funke and M. Haake, Stuttgart, pp. 185-203.
- McInerney, J. 2014. "Bouphonia: Killing Cattle on the Acropolis," in *Équidés et bovidés de la Méditerranée Antique. Rites et combats. Jeux et saviors. Publication de l'UMR 5140 du CNRS «Archéologie des Sociétés Méditerranéennes»*, eds. A. Gardiesen and C. Chandezon, Lattes, pp. 113-124.
- McQueen, E.I. 1978. "Some Notes on the Anti-Macedonian Movement in the Peloponnese in 331 B.C.," *Historia* 27, pp. 40-64.
- Meier-Brügger, M. 2003. *Indo-European Linguistics*, trans. Charles Germanian, Berlin.
- Meissner, T. and O. Tribulato. 2002. "Nominal Composition in Mycenaean Greek," *Transactions of the Philological Society* 100, pp. 289-330.
- Melena, J.L. 2013. "Filling Gaps in the Mycenaean Linear B Additional Syllabary: The Case of Syllabogram *34," in *Homenaje a Manuel García Teijeiro*, eds. A. Martínez Fernández, B. Ortega Villaro, H. Velasco López, and H. Zamora Salamanca, Valladolid, pp. 211-230.

- Melena, J.L. 2014. "Mycenaean Writing," in *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and Their World*, vol. 3, eds. Y. Duhoux and A. Morpurgo Davies, Leuven and Walpole, pp. 1-186.
- Mellor, R. *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ: The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World (Hypomnemata 42)*, Göttingen.
- Mentzer, S.M., D.G. Romano, and M.E. Voyatzis. 2015. "Micromorphological contributions to the study of ritual behavior at the ash altar to Zeus on Mt. Lykaion, Greece," *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences*, pp. 1-27.
- Meritt, B.D. 1934. "The Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 3, pp. 1-114.
- Meritt, B.D. 1960. "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 29, pp. 1-77.
- Merkelbach, R. and M. L. West. 1967. *Fragmenta Hesiodica*, Oxford.
- Miller, S.G. 1982. "Kleonai, the Nemean Games, and the Lamian War," in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson (Hesperia Suppl. 20)*, pp. 100-108.
- Miller, S.G. 1990. *Nemea: A Guide to the Site and Museum*, Berkeley.
- Miller, S.G. 2004. *Ancient Greek Athletics*, New Haven and London.
- Miller, D.G. 2014. *Ancient Greek Dialects and Early Authors: Introduction to the Dialect Mixture in Homer, with Notes on Lyric and Herodotus*, Boston and Berlin.
- Mills, A.D. 2011. *A Dictionary of British Place Names*, Oxford.
- Milne, J.G. 1905. *Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford.
- Mitsos, M.Th. 1940. "Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Argos," *AM* 65, pp. 47-56.
- Moggi, M. 1974. "Il sinecismo di Megalopoli," *ASNP* 3rd ser., no. 4, pp. 71-107.
- Moretti, L. 1953. *Iscrizioni Agonistiche Greche*, Rome.
- Moretti, L. 1957. *Olympionikai*, Rome.
- Morgan, C. 1990. *Athletes and Oracles: The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century B.C.*, Cambridge.

- Morgan, C. 1999. "Cultural Subzones in Early Iron Age and Archaic Arkadia?" in *Defining Ancient Arkadia*, eds. T.H. Nielsen and J. Roy, Copenhagen, pp. 382-456.
- Morgan, C. 2003. *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*, London and New York.
- Morgan, C. 2009. "The Archaeology of *Ethne* and Ethnicity in the Fourth-Century Peloponnese," in *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League*, eds. P. Funke and N. Luraghi, Washington, D.C. and Harvard, http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_FunkeP_LuraghiN_eds.The_Politics_of_Ethnicity.2009.
- Morris, I. 1986. "The Use and Abuse of Homer," *ClAnt* 5, pp. 81-138.
- Morris, S.P. 2001. "Potnia Aswiya: Anatolian Contributions to Greek Religion," in *Potnia: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Acts of the 8th International Aegean Conference at Göteborg University, 12-15 April 2000*, *Aegaeum* 22, eds. R. Hägg and R. Laffineur, Liège, pp. 423-434.
- Mountjoy, P.A. 1999. *Regional Decorated Mycenaean Pottery*, vol. 1, Rahden.
- Müller, C.O. 1830. *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, trans. H. Tufnell and G.C. Lewis, Oxford.
- Murakawa, K. 1957. "Demiurgus," *Historia* 6, pp. 385-415.
- Mylonas, G.E. 1943. "The Lykaian Altar of Zeus," in *Classical Studies in Honor of William Abbott Oldfather*, University of Illinois, pp. 122-133.
- Mylonas, G.E. 1977. *Μυκηναϊκή θρησκεία: Ναοί, βωμοί και τεμένη*, Athens.
- Mylonopoulos, I. 2003. *Πελοπόννησος οἰκητήριον Ποσειδῶνος: Heiligtümer und Kulte des Poseidon auf der Peloponnes (Kernos Suppl. 13)*, Liège.
- Nakassis, D. 2013. *Individuals and Society in Mycenaean Pylos*, Leiden and Boston.
- Nielsen, T.H. 1999. "The Concept of Arkadia: The People, the Land, and Their Organisation," in *Defining Ancient Arkadia: Symposium, April 1-4, 1998*, eds. T.H. Nielsen and J. Roy, Copenhagen, pp. 16-79.
- Nielsen, T.H. 2002. *Arkadia and its Poleis in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Göttingen.

- Nielsen, T.H. 2004. "Arkadia," in *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis*, eds. M.H. Hansen and T. Heine Nielsen, Oxford, pp. 505-539.
- Nielsen, T.H. 2007. *Olympia and the Classical Hellenic City-State Culture*, Copenhagen.
- Nielsen, T.H. 2013. "Can 'Federal Sanctuaries' Be Identified in Triphylia and Arkadia?" in *Greek Federal States and their Sanctuaries: Identity and Integration*, eds. P. Funke and M. Haake, Stuttgart, pp. 227-243.
- Nielsen, T.H. 2015. "The Arkadian Confederacy," in *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*, eds. H. Beck and P. Funke, Cambridge, pp. 258-260
- Niemeier, W.-D. 2007. "Ausgrabungen und Forschungen, Kalapodi, Jahresbericht 2006 des DAI," *AA*, pp. 76-78.
- Niemeier, W.-D. 2008. "Ausgrabungen und Forschungen, Kalapodi, Jahresbericht 2007 des DAI," *AA*, pp. 99-102.
- Niemeier, W.-D. 2009. "Ausgrabungen und Forschungen, Kalapodi (Abai), Jahresbericht 2008 des DAI," *AA*, pp. 107-110.
- Niemeier, W.-D. 2010. "Ausgrabungen und Forschungen, Kalapodi (Abai), Jahresbericht 2007 des DAI," *AA*, pp. 106-108.
- Niese, B. 1899. "Beiträge zur Geschichte Arkadiens," *Hermes* 34, pp. 520-552.
- Niese, B. 1907. "Herodot-Studien: Besonders zur Spartanischen Geschichte," *Hermes* 42, pp. 419-468.
- Nilsson, M.P. 1906. *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der Attischen*, 2nd ed., Leipzig.
- Nilsson, M.P. 1940. *Greek Folk Religion*, New York.
- Nilsson, M.P. 1950. *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, 2nd ed., Lund.
- Nilsson, M.P. 1951. *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece*, Lund.
- Nilsson, M.P. 1972. *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (with a new introduction and bibliography by E. Vermeule), Berkeley.
- Nordquist, G.C., M.E. Voyatzis, and E. Østby. 2014. *Tegea I: Investigations in the temple of Athena Alea 1991-1994*, Athens.

- Ogilvie, R.M. 1965. *A Commentary on Livy: Books 1-5*, Oxford.
- Oliver, J.H. and S. Dow. 1935. "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 4, pp. 5-90.
- O'Neil, J.L. 2014. "The Divinities of Linear B and their Relationship to the Later Greek Gods," *Pasiphae* 8, pp. 137-150.
- Ortega-Villaro, B. 1996. "La expresión de mandato en las inscripciones dialectales griegas," *Fortunatae* 8, pp. 79-96.
- Østby, E. 2007. "Early Tegea, Sparta, and the Sanctuary of Athena Alea," in *Being Peloponnesian*, Nottingham, ch. 2.
- Page, D. 1959. *History and the Homeric Iliad*, Berkeley.
- Palaima, T.G. 1988. *The Scribes of Pylos*, Rome.
- Palaima, T.G. 1991. "Maritime Matters in the Linear B Tablets," in *Thalassa: L'Égée préhistorique et la mer*, *Aegaeum* 7, eds. R. Laffineur and L. Basch, Liège, pp. 273-310.
- Palaima, T.G. 1999. "Mycenaean Militarism from a Textual Perspective. Onomastics in Context: *lāwos, dāmos, klewos*," in *Polemos: Le Contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du bronze*, *Aegaeum* 19, ed. R. Laffineur, Liège, pp. 367-379.
- Palaima, T.G. 2000. "Θέμις in the Mycenaean Lexicon and the Etymology of the Place-Name *ti-mi-to a-ko," *Faventia* 22, pp. 7-19.
- Palaima, T.G. 2004. "Appendix One: Linear B Sources," in *Anthology of Classical Myth: Primary Sources in Translation*, eds. S.M. Trzaskoma, R. Scott Smith, and S. Brunet, Indianapolis, pp. 439-454.
- Palaima, T.G. 2008. "Mycenaean Religion," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. C.W. Shelmerdine, Cambridge, pp. 342-361.
- Palaima, T.G. 2009. "Continuity from the Mycenaean Period in an Historical Boeotian Cult of Poseidon (and Erinys)," in *Δώρον: Τιμητικός Τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Σπύρο Ιακωβίδη*, ed. D. Danielidou, Athens, pp. 527-536.
- Palaima, T.G. 2014. "Harnessing Phusis: The Ideology of Control and Exploitation of the Natural World as Reflected in Terminology in the Linear B Texts Derived from Indo-European **bheh₂u* 'Grow, Arise, Be' and **h₂eg-ro-* 'The Uncultivated Wild Field' and Other Roots Related to the Natural Environs," in *Physis*:

L'environnement naturel et la relation home-milieu dans le monde égéen protohistorique, Aegaeum 37, eds. G. Touchais, R. Laffineur, and F. Rougemont, Leuven and Liège.

Palmer, L.R. 1963. *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts*, Oxford.

Palmer, L.R. 1980. *The Greek Language*, London.

Papachatzis, N.D. 1980. *Πανσάνιον Ελλάδος Περιήγησις*, vol. 4: *Αχαϊκά και Αρκαδικά*, Athens.

Papanastassiou, G.V. 1994. *Compléments au Dictionnaire Étymologique du Grec Ancien de Pierre Chantraine (Α-Ω)*, Thessaloniki.

Pape, W. and G.E. Benseler. 1911. *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigenammen*, 3rd ed., Braunschweig.

Parker, C.R. 2008. "Arkadia in Transition: Exploring Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Human Landscapes," (diss. University of Birmingham).

Parker, H.N. 2008. "The Linguistic Case for the Aiolian Migration Reconsidered," *Hesperia* 77, pp. 431-464.

Parker, R. 2000. "Theophoric Names and the History of Greek Religion," in *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*, eds. S. Hornblower and E. Matthews, Oxford and New York, pp. 53-79.

Parker, R. 2003. "The Problem of the Greek Cult Epithet," *OpAth* 28, pp. 173-183.

Parker, V. 1993. "Zur Geographie des Reiches von Pylos," *SMEA* 32, pp. 41-75.

Parry, A. 1971. *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Millman Parry*, Oxford.

Pearson, L. 1962. "The Pseudo-History of Messenia and its Authors," *Historia* 11, pp. 397-426.

Peek, W. 1941. "Delische Weihepigramme," *Hermes* 76, pp. 408-416.

Perlman, P. 2000a. "Gortyn. The First Seven Hundred Years (Part 1)," in *Polis and Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History Presented to Mogens Hansen on his Sixtieth Birthday, August 20, 2000*, eds. P. Flensted-Jensen, T.H. Nielsen, and L. Rubinstein, Copenhagen, pp. 59-89.

- Perlman, P. 2000b. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese* (Hypomnemata 121), Göttingen, 2000.
- Perlman, P. 2004. "Crete," in *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, eds. M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen, Oxford, pp. 1144-1195.
- Peruzzi, E. 1980. *Mycenaeans in early Latium*, Rome.
- Piccaluga, G. 1968 *Lykaon, un tema mitico*, Rome.
- Piérart, M. 1982. "Argos, Cléonai et le Koinon des Arcadiens," *BCH* 106, pp. 119-138.
- Pikoulas, Y.A. 1981-1982. "Ἡ Ἀρκαδικὴ Ἀζανία," *Πρακτικά Β' Διεθνούς Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν, Τόμος Β', Athens*, pp. 25-37.
- Pikoulas, Y.A. 1984. "Τὸ Φυλάκειον στὸ Βασιλικὸ καὶ ἡ Σημασία τοῦ γιὰ τὴν Ἱστορικὴ Τοπογραφία τῆς Περιοχῆς," in *Πρακτικά Β' Τοπικοῦ Συνεδρίου Μεσσηνιακῶν Σπουδῶν*, Athens, pp. 177-184.
- Pikoulas, Y.A. 1986. "Ὁ ἀρχαῖος οικισμὸς τῆς Δημητσάνας," *Horos* 4, pp. 99-123.
- Pikoulas, Y.A. 1988a. "Ὁ Μῦθος τοῦ Ορέστη καὶ ἡ Τοπογραφία τῆς Κλασσικῆς Ἀρκαδίας," *Πρακτικά τοῦ XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασσικῆς Αρχαιολογίας*, Athens, pp. 160-165.
- Pikoulas, Y.A. 1988b. *Ἡ Νότια Μεγαλοπολιτικὴ Χώρα, ἀπὸ τὸν 8^ο π.Χ. ὡς τὸν 4^ο μ.Χ. αἰῶνα. Συμβολὴ στὴν τοπογραφία τῆς*, Διδακτορικὴ Διατριβή, Athens.
- Pikoulas, Y.A. 1989. "Ἡ ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ κοινὴ στήλη," *Πρακτικά τοῦ Β' Τοπικοῦ Συνεδρίου Ἡλειακῶν Σπουδῶν*, Athens, pp. 155-160.
- Pikoulas, Y.A. 1990. "Μαινάλιοι καὶ Παρράσιοι: Πολιτικὴ χειραγώγηση καὶ χειραφέτηση," in *Πρακτικά Β' Τοπικοῦ Συνεδρίου Ἀρκαδικῶν Σπουδῶν*, Athens pp. 474-480.
- Pikoulas, Y.A. 1999. "The Road-Network of Arkadia," in *Defining Ancient Arkadia*, eds. T.H. Nielsen and J. Roy, Copenhagen, pp. 248-319.
- Pikoulas, Y.A. 2002a. *Ἀρκαδία: Συλλογὴ μελετῶν*, Athens.
- Pikoulas, Y.A. 2002b. "Ἐρευνες στὸ ἀνατολικὸ Λύκαιο," *Πρακτικά Ε' Διεθνούς Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν*, Athens, pp. 247-256.

- Pikoulas, Y.A. 2008. "Ένα Νόμισμα και Κάποιες Ιστορίες," in *Κερμάτια Φιλίας: Τιμητικός Τόμος για τον Ιωάννη Τουράτσογλου Α΄*, Athens, pp. 45-53.
- Pikoulas, Y.A. 2010-2013. "Καθώς ἔστι ἀμὴν ἡ χώρα: Ἡ βόρεια μεθόριος Μεσσηνίας καὶ Ἀρκαδίας," *Horos* 22-25, pp. 261-287.
- Pilafidis-Williams, K. 1995. "A Mycenaean Terracotta Figurine from Mount Oros on Aigina," *BICS* 40, pp. 229-234.
- Pleket, H.W. 2010. "Roman Emperors and Greek Athletics," *Nikephoros* 23, pp. 175-203.
- Pokorny, J. 1959. *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1, Bern 1959.
- Poliakoff, M.B. 1987. *Combat Sports in the Ancient World: Competition, Violence, and Culture*, New Haven.
- Prandi, L. 1985. *Callistene: uno storico tra Aristotele e i re macedoni*, Milan.
- Preger, T. 1891. *Inscriptiones graecae metricae ex scriptoribus praeter Anthologiam collectae*, Leipzig.
- Prent, M. 2005. *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults: Continuity and Change from Late Minoan IIIc to the Archaic Period*, Leiden and Boston.
- Pretzler, M. 2009. "Arcadia: Ethnicity and Politics in the Fifth and Fourth centuries BCE," in *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League*, eds. P. Funke and N. Luraghi, Washington, D.C. and Harvard, pp. 86-109.
- Preuner, E. 1922. "Amphiaraja und Panathenaia," *Hermes* 57, pp. 80-106.
- Price, S. 1984. *Rituals and Power: The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge.
- Pritchett, W.K. 1989 *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, vol. 6, Berkeley.
- Probert, P. 2006. *Ancient Greek Accentuation: Synchronic Patterns, Frequency Effects, and Prehistory*, Oxford.
- Pugliese-Carratelli, G. 1961-1962. "Supplemento epigrafico cirenaico," *ASAA* 39-40, pp. 273-280.
- Puhvel, J. 1987. *Comparative Mythology*, Baltimore and London.

- Quantin, F. 2008. "Recherches sur l'histoire et l'archéologie du sanctuaire de Dodone: Les *oikoi*, Zeus *Naios* et les *Naia*," *Kernos* 21, pp. 9-48.
- Raaflaub, K.A. 1997. "Homeric Society," in *A New Companion to Homer*, eds. I. Morris and B. Powell, Leiden, New York, and Köln, pp. 624-648.
- Raaflaub, K.A. 1997-1998. "Homer, the Trojan War, and history," *CW* 91, pp. 386-403.
- Raaflaub, K.A. 2006. "Historical Approaches to Homer," in *Ancient Greece from the Mycenaean Palaces to Homer*, eds. S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I.S. Lemos, Edinburgh, pp. 449-462.
- Raja, R. 2012. *Urban Development and Regional Identity in the Eastern Roman Provinces, 50 B.C.-A.D. 250: Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Athens, Gerasa*, Copenhagen.
- Reinsch-Werner, H. 1976. *Callimachus Hesiodicus: Die Rezeption der hesiodischen Dichtung durch Kallimachos von Kyrene*, Berlin.
- Remijsen, S. 2011. "The So-Called 'Crown Games': Terminology and Historical Context of the Ancient Categories for *Agones*," *ZPE* 177, pp. 97-109.
- Remijsen, S. 2015. *The End of Athletics in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge.
- Renfrew, C. 1977. "Retrospect and Prospect," in *Mycenaean Geography*, ed. J. Bintliff, Cambridge, pp. 108-119.
- Rhodes, P.J. and R. Osborne. 2003. *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 B.C.*, Oxford.
- Richter, G.M.A. 1915. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York.
- Richter, G.M.A. 1946. "Two Archaic Bronze Statuettes," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 4, pp. 249-253.
- Riginos, A.S. 1976. *Platonica: The Anecdotes Concerning the Life and Writings of Plato*, Leiden.
- Ringe, D. Jr. 1988-1990. "Evidence for the Position of Tocharian in the Indo-European Family?" *Die Sprache* 34, pp. 59-123.
- Ringwood, I.C. 1927. "Agonistic Features of Local Greek Festivals Chiefly from Inscriptional Evidence," (diss. Columbia University).

- Risch, E. 1945. "Griechische Komposita vom Typus μεσο-νύκτιος und ὁμο-γάστριος," *MusHelv* 2, pp. 15-27.
- Risch, E. 1957. "Zur Geschichte der griechischen Ethnika," *MusHelv* 14, pp. 63-74.
- Risch, E. 1965. "Ein Gang durch die Geschichte der griechischen Ortsnamen," *MusHelv* 22, pp. 193-205.
- Rix, H. 2001. *LIV: Lexicon der indogermanischen Verben*, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden.
- Robert, L. 1926a. "Notes d'épigraphie hellénistique," *BCH* 50, pp. 469-552.
- Robert, J. and L. Robert. 1941. "Bulletin épigraphique," *REG* 54, pp. 228-269.
- Robertson, N. 1988. "Melanthus, Codrus, Neleus, Caucon: Ritual Myth as Athenian History," *GRBS* 29, pp. 201-261.
- Robinson, M. 2011. *Ovid Fasti Book 2*, Oxford and New York.
- Romano, I.B., G.H. Davis, and D.G. Romano. 2015. "The Monument Landscape and Associated Geology at the Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion," in *Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone, ASMOSIA X: Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference of ASMOSIA, Association for the Study of Marble & Other Stones in Antiquity, Rome, 21-26 May 2012, Rome*, pp. 429-436.
- Romano, D.G. 1981. "The Stadia of the Peloponnesos," (diss. University of Pennsylvania).
- Romano, D.G. 1993. *Athletics and Mathematics in Archaic Corinth: The Origins of the Greek Stadion*, Philadelphia.
- Romano, D.G. 2005. "A New Topographical and Architectural Survey of the Sanctuary of Zeus at Mt. Lykaion," in *Ancient Arcadia. Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arcadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002*, ed. Erik Østby, Athens, pp. 381-396.
- Romano, D.G. 2010. "Romanization in the Corinthia: Urban and Rural Developments," in *Roman Peloponnese*, vol. 3, *Society, Economy and Culture under the Roman Empire: Continuity and Innovation (Meletemata 63)*, eds. A.D. Rizakis and Cl.E. Lepenioti, pp. 155-172.
- Romano, D.G. 2014. "Athletic Festivals in the Northern Peloponnese and Central Greece," in *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*,

- eds. P. Christesen and D.G. Kyle, Malden, MA, Oxford, and Chichester, pp. 176-191.
- Romano, D.G. and M.E. Voyatzis. 2010a. "Excavating the Birthplace of Zeus," *Expedition* 52, pp. 10-21.
- Romano, D.G. and M.E. Voyatzis. 2010b. "Preserving Ancient Arcadian Heritage: Proposal for an Archaeological Park," in *Paysage et religion en Grèce antique: Mélanges offerts à Madeleine Jost*, eds. P. Carlier and C. Lerouge-Cohen, Paris, pp. 41-54.
- Romano, D.G. and M.E. Voyatzis. 2014. "Mt. Lykaion Excavation and Survey Project, Part 1: The Upper Sanctuary," *Hesperia* 83, pp. 569-652.
- Romano, D.G. and M.E. Voyatzis. 2015. "Mt. Lykaion Excavation and Survey Project, Part 2: The Lower Sanctuary," *Hesperia* 84, pp. 207-276.
- Roy, J. 1967. "The Mercenaries of Cyrus," *Historia* 16, pp. 287-323.
- Roy, J. 1968a. "Studies in the History of Classical and Hellenistic Arcadia," (diss. University of Cambridge).
- Roy, J. 1968b. "The Sons of Lycaon in Pausanias' Arcadian King-List," *BSA* 63, pp. 287-292.
- Roy, J. 1971. "Arcadia and Boeotia in Peloponnesian Affairs, 370-362 B.C.," *Historia*, pp. 569-599.
- Roy, J. 1972a. "Arcadian Nationality as seen in Xenophon's *Anabasis*," *Mnemosyne* 25, pp. 129-136.
- Roy, J. 1972b. "An Arcadian League in the Earlier Fifth Century B.C.?" *Phoenix* 26, pp. 334-341.
- Roy, J. 1972c. "Orchomenus and Clitor," *CQ* 22, pp. 78-80.
- Roy, J. 1974. "Postscript on the Arcadian League," *Historia* 23, pp. 505-507.
- Roy, J. 1994. "Thebes in the 360s B.C.," *CAH* 6, pp. 187-208.
- Roy, J. 1996. "*Polis* and Tribe in Classical Arkadia," in *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis (Historia Einzelschriften 108)*, eds. M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub, Stuttgart, pp. 107-112.

- Roy, J. 1999. "The Economies of Arcadia," in *Defining Ancient Arkadia*, eds. T.H. Nielsen and J. Roy, Copenhagen, pp. 320-381.
- Roy, J. 2000a. "Problems of Democracy in the Arcadian Confederacy 370-362 B.C.," in *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*, eds. R. Brock and S. Hodkinson, Oxford, pp. 308-326.
- Roy, J. 2000b. "The Frontier Between Arkadia and Elis in Classical Antiquity," in *Polis and Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History Presented to Mogens Herman Hansen on his Sixtieth Birthday, August 20, 2000*, eds. P. Flensted-Jensen, T.H. Nielsen, and L. Rubinstein, Copenhagen, pp. 133-156.
- Roy, J. 2005. "Synoikizing Megalopolis: The Scope of the Synoikism and the Interests of Local Arkadian Communities," in *Ancient Arkadia. Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arkadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002*, ed. E. Østby, Athens, pp. 261-270.
- Roy, J. 2007. "The urban layout of Megalopolis in its civic and confederate context," *Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond (BSA Suppl. 15)*, pp. 289-295.
- Roy, J. 2010a. "Arkadian religion without Pausanias: the sanctuary at Berekla," in *Paysage et religion en Grèce antique: Mélanges offerts à Madeleine Jost*, eds. P. Carlier and C. Lerouge-Cohen, Paris, pp. 55-65.
- Roy, J. 2010b. "Roman Arkadia," in *Roman Peloponnese*, vol. 3, *Society, Economy and Culture under the Roman Empire: Continuity and Innovation (Meletemata 63)*, eds. A.D. Rizakis and Cl.E. Lepenioti, pp. 59-73.
- Roy, J. 2013a. "Olympia, Identity and Integration: Elis, Eleia, and Hellas," in *Greek Federal States and their Sanctuaries: Identity and Integration*, eds. P. Funke and M. Haake, Stuttgart, pp. 110-121.
- Roy, J. 2013b. "The Parrhasians of Southwestern Arkadia," *ClMed* 64, pp. 5-47.
- Roy, J., J.A. Lloyd, and E.J. Owens. 1989. "Megalopolis under the Roman Empire," in *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire (BICS Suppl. 55)*, eds. S. Walker and A. Cameron, London, pp. 146-150.
- Roy, J. and T.H. Nielsen. 1998. "The Azanians of Northern Arkadia," *ClMed* 49, pp. 5-44.

- Ruggeri, C. 2009. "Triphylia from Elis to Arkadia," in *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League*, eds. P. Funke and N. Luraghi, Washington, D.C. and Harvard, pp. 49-64.
- Ruijgh, C.J. 1967. *Études sur la grammaire et la vocabulaire du grec Mycénien*, Amsterdam.
- Ruijgh, C.J. 1968. "Les noms en -won- (-āwon-, -īwon-), -uon-, en grec alphabetique et en mycenien," *Minos* 9, pp. 109-155.
- Ruijgh, C.H. 2011. "Mycenaean and Homeric Language," in *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and Their World*, vol. 2, eds. Y. Duhoux and A. Morpurgo Davies, Leuven and Walpole, MA, pp. 253-298.
- Sainer, A.P. 1976. "An Index of the Place Names at Pylos," *SMEA* 17, pp. 17-63.
- Sakellarakis, Y. 1983. "Ανασκαφή 'Ιδαίου Άντρου," *Prakt*, pp. 415-500.
- Sakellarakis, Y. 1984. "Ανασκαφή 'Ιδαίου Άντρου," *Prakt*, pp. 507-599.
- Sakellarakis, Y. 1988. "The Idaean Cave: Minoan and Greek worship," *Kernos* 1, pp. 207-214.
- Salavoura, E. 2005. "Μυκηναϊκή Αρκαδία: Αποτίμηση των γνώσεών μας," in *Ancient Arcadia. Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arcadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002*, ed. E. Østby, Athens, pp. 35-48.
- Salavoura, E. 2015. *Μυκηναϊκή Αρκαδία: Αρχαιολογική και τοπογραφική θεώρηση*, Athens.
- Schachter, A. 1993. *Cults of Boiotia*, vol. 3, London.
- Scheer, T.S. 2009. "Augustus and Athena: Arcadian Cult Images between Religion and Politics," in *Images of the Gods – Images for the Gods*, ed. J. Mylonopoulos, Leiden, pp. 225-239.
- Scheer, T.S. 2011. "Ways of Becoming Arcadian: Arcadian Foundation Myths in the Mediterranean," in *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. E.S. Gruen, Los Angeles, pp. 11-25.
- Schoeman, G.F. 1902. *Griechische Alterthümer*, vol. 2, 4th ed., Berlin.
- Schwartz, E. 1899. "Tyrtaios," *Hermes* 34, pp. 428-468.

- Schwyzler, E. 1939. *Griechische Grammatik: Auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechischer Grammatik*, Munich.
- Scott, M. 2008. "Constructing identities in inter-state space: the case of the Arcadian monument at Delphi," in *SOMA 2005: Proceedings of the IX Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology*, eds. O. Menozzi, M. Di Marzio, and D. Fossataro, Oxford, pp. 431-438.
- Scott, M. 2010. *Delphi and Olympia: The Spatial Politics of Panhellenism in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Cambridge.
- Sergent, B. 1980. "Le Royaume d'Arcadie a l'époque mycénienne," *Index* 9, pp. 79-97.
- Sève, M. 1991. "Note sur la date du sculpteur Thoinias de Sicyone," *REG* 104, pp. 232-235.
- Shear, I.M. 2000. *Tales of Heroes: The Origins of the Homeric Texts*, New York.
- Shear, I.M. 2004. *Kingship in the Mycenaean World and its Reflection in the Oral Tradition*, Philadelphia.
- Shelmerdine, C.W. 2008. "Mycenaean Society," in *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and Their World*, vol. 1, eds. Y. Duhoux and A. Morpurgo Davies, Leuven and Walpole, MA, pp. 115-158.
- Shipley, G. 2000. *The Greek World After Alexander, 323-30 B.C.*, London and New York.
- Siewert, P. and H. Taeuber. 2013. *Neue Inschriften von Olympia: die ab 1896 veröffentlichten Texte*, Vienna.
- Sinn, U. 2007. "Die *Hiera koryphe* der Arkader: Zur sakralen Topographie des Zeus-Heiligtums im Lykaion," in *Ἀρόμωνα Ἔργα: Festschrift B.K. Lambrinoudakis*, eds. E. Simandoni-Bournia, A.A. Laimou, L.G. Mendoni, and N. Kourou, Athens, pp. 178-188.
- Smith, J. 1995. "The Pylos Jn Series," *Minos* 27-28, pp. 167-259.
- Smith, L.C. 1961. "The Chronology of Books XVIII-XX of Diodorus Siculus," *AJP* 82, pp. 283-290.
- Smith, C.J. 2012. "The *Feriae Latinae*," in *Greek and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning, and Practice*, eds. J.R. Brandt and J.W. Iddeng, Oxford, pp. 267-288.

- Smyth, H.W. 1956. *Greek Grammar*, Cambridge, MA.
- Soifer, D.S. 1991. *The myths of Narasimha and Vāmana : two avatars in cosmological perspective*, Albany.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 1989. "Continuity and Change in Greek Religion" Rev. of B.C. Dietrich, *Tradition in Greek Religion*, in *CR* 39, pp. 51-58.
- Spawforth, A.J.S. 1989. "Agonistic festivals in Roman Greece," in *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire (BICS Suppl. 55)*, eds. S. Walker and A. Cameron, London, pp. 193-197.
- Spawforth, A.J.S. 2007. "'Kapetoleia Olympia': Roman Emperors and Greek *Agones*," in *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals: From Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire*, eds. S. Hornblower and C. Morgan, pp. 377-390.
- Starkovich, B.M., G.W.L. Hodgins, M.E. Voyatzis, and D.G. Romano. 2013. "Dating Gods: Radiocarbon Dates from the Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion (Arcadia, Greece)," *Radiocarbon* 55, pp. 501-513.
- Stephens, S.A. 2015. *Callimachus: The Hymns*, Oxford and New York.
- Stiglitz, R. 1967. *Die Grossen Göttinnen Arkadiens: Der Kulname ΜΕΓΑΛΑΙ ΘΕΑΙ und seine Grundlagen*, Vienna.
- Syriopoulos, C.T. 1973. "The Homeric 'Windy Enispe': A Prehistoric Settlement in North-Western Arcadia near the River Ladon," *BSA* 68, pp. 193-205.
- Szemerényi, O. 1974. "The Origins of the Greek Lexicon: Ex Oriente Lux," *JHS* 94, pp. 144-157.
- Tartaron, T.F. 2004. *Bronze Age Landscape and Society in Southern Epirus, Greece (BAR International Series 1290)*, Oxford.
- Themelis, P. 2003. *Ancient Messene*, Athens.
- Themelis, P. 2004. "Cults on Mount Ithome," *Kernos* 17, pp. 143-154.
- Themelis, P. 2011. "Μεσσήνιοι αθλητές," in *ΕΠΙΛΗΝΟΣ Luigi Beschi*, eds. D. Delivorrias, G. Despinis, and A. Zarkadas, Athens, pp. 141-149.
- Thompson, M. 1939. "A Hoard of Greek Federal Silver," *Hesperia* 8, pp. 116-154.

- Thompson, M. 1968. *The Agrinion Hoard* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs 159), New York.
- Thompson, W.E. 1983. "Arcadian Factionalism in the 360's," *Historia* 32, pp. 149-160.
- Thumb, A. 1893. "Λυκόσουρα," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 32, pp. 133-136.
- Thür, G. and H. Taeuber. 1994. *Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien*, Vienna.
- Tomlinson, J.E. and E.B. French. 1997. "Statistical Evaluation of the Asaro-Perlman Neutron Activation Data on Mycenaean Pottery from the Peloponnese," *BSA* 92, pp. 139-164.
- Tracy, S.V. and S.T. Edmunds. 1978. "Five Letter Cutters of Hellenistic Athens," *Hesperia* 47, pp. 244-268.
- Trampedach, K. 1994. *Platon, die Akademie und die zeitgenössische Politik* (Hermes Einzelschriften 66), Stuttgart.
- Tribulato, O. 2015. *Ancient Greek Verb-Initial Compounds: Their Diachronic Development Within the Greek Compound System*, Berlin and Boston.
- Trümper, C. 2001. "Potnia dans les tablettes mycéniennes: quelques problèmes d'interprétation," *Potnia: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Acts of the 8th International Aegean Conference at Göteborg University, 12-15 April 2000, Aegaeum* 22, eds. R. Hägg and R. Laffineur Liège, pp. 411-421.
- Tsiolis, V. 1995. "El 'Thersilion' de Megalópolis: funciones y cronología," *Gerion* 13, pp. 47-68.
- Usener, H. 1896. *Götternamen: Versuch einer Lehre von der religiösen Begriffsbildung*, Bonn.
- Valério, M. 2007. "'Diktaian Master': A Minoan Predecessor of Diktaian Zeus in Linear A?" *Kadmos* 46, pp. 3-14.
- Valmin, M.N. 1930. *Études topographiques sur la Messénie ancienne*, Lund.
- van Leuven, J.C. 1979. "Mycenaean Goddesses Called Potnia," *Kadmos* 18, pp. 112-129.
- van Nijf, O. 2001. "Local heroes: athletics, festivals and elite self-fashioning in the Roman East," in *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second*

- Sophistic and the Development of Empire*, ed. S. Goldhill, Cambridge, pp. 306-334.
- Veligianni-Terzi, C. 1977. *Damiurgen: Zur Entwicklung einer Magistratur*, Heidelberg.
- Ventris, M. and J. Chadwick. 1956. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 1st ed., Cambridge.
- Ventris, M. and J. Chadwick. 1973. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd ed., Cambridge.
- Verbruggen, H. 1981. *Le Zeus Crétois*, Paris.
- Vermeule, E.T. 1957. Rev. of M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, in *AJA* 61, pp. 196-201.
- Versnel, H.S. 2011. *Coping with the Gods: Wayward Readings in Greek Theology*, Leiden and Boston.
- Versnel, H.S. 2014. "What's Sauce for the Goose is Sauce for the Gander: Myth and Ritual, Old and New," in *Approaches to Greek Myth*, 2nd ed., ed. L. Edmonds, Baltimore, pp. 86-151.
- Vidal-Naquet, P. 1983. *Le chasseur noir: Formes de pensée et formes de société dans le monde grec*, Paris.
- Visser, E. 1997. *Homers Katalog der Schiffe*, Stuttgart and Leipzig.
- von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. 1884. *Homerische Untersuchungen*, Berlin.
- von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. 1990. *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker*, Berlin.
- Voyatzis, M.E. 1985. "Arcadia and Cyprus: Aspects of their Interrelationship between the Twelfth and Eighth Centuries B.C.," *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*, pp. 155-163.
- Voyatzis, M.E. 1990. *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and Other Archaic Sanctuaries in Arcadia*, Göteborg.
- Voyatzis, M.E. 1999. "The Role of Temple Building in Consolidating Arkadian Communities," in *Defining Ancient Arkadia*, eds. T.H. Nielsen and J. Roy, Copenhagen, pp. 130-168.

- Wade-Gery, H.T. 1966. "The 'Rhianos-hypothesis,'" in *Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victory Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday*, ed. E. Badian, Oxford, pp. 289-302.
- Walbank, F.W. 1957. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 1: *Commentary on Books I-VI*, Oxford.
- Walbank, F.W. 1967. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 2: *Commentary on Books VII-XVIII*, Oxford.
- Walbank, F.W. 1972. *Polybius (Sather Classical Lectures 42)*, Berkeley.
- Walbank, F.W. 1993. *The Hellenistic World*, rev. ed., Cambridge, MA.
- Wallace, W.P. 1954. "Kleomenes, Marathon, the Helots, and Arkadia," *JHS* 74, pp. 32-35.
- Warren, J. 1969. "The Earliest Triobols of Megalopolis," *ANSMN* 15, pp. 31-40.
- Watkins, C. 1995. *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*, Oxford and New York.
- Watkins, C. (ed.). 2000. *The American heritage dictionary of Indo-European roots*, 2nd ed., Boston.
- Watrous, L.V. 1996. *The Cave Sanctuary of Zeus at Psychro: A Study of Extra-Urban Sanctuaries in Minoan and Early Iron Age Crete*, *Aegaeum* 15, Liège and Austin.
- Weil, R. 1900. "Pisa," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 22, pp. 13-19.
- Weiler, I. 2014. "Recent Trends in the Study of Greek Sport," in *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, eds. P. Christesen and D.G. Kyle, Malden, MA, Oxford, and Chichester, pp. 119-129.
- West, M.L. 1966. *Hesiod: Theogony*, Oxford.
- West, M.L. 1985. *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Its Nature, Structure, and Origins*, Oxford.
- West, M.L. 1988. "The Rise of the Greek Epic," *JHS* 108, pp. 151-172.
- Wheatley, P. 1998. "The Chronology of the Third Diadoch War, 315-311 B.C.," *Phoenix* 52, pp. 257-281.

- Whitley, J. 2009. "The Chimera of Continuity: What Would Continuity of Cult Actually Demonstrate?" in *Archaeologies of Cult: Essays on Ritual and Cult in Crete in Honor of Geraldine C. Gesell (Hesperia Suppl. 29)*, eds. A.L. D'Agata and A. Van de Moortel, Princeton, pp. 279-288.
- Wiener, M.H. 2007. "Homer and History: Old Questions, New Evidence," in *Epos: Reconsidering Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology, Aegaeum 28*, eds. S.P. Morris and R. Laffineur, Liège, pp. 3-33.
- Will, É. 1984. "The Succession to Alexander," *CAH*, 2nd ed., vol. 7.1, pp. 23-61.
- Willets, R.F. 1962. *Cretan Cults and Festivals*, London.
- Williams, R.T. 1965. *The Confederate Coinage of the Arcadians in the Fifth Century B.C. (Numismatic Notes and Monographs 155)*, New York.
- Willink, C.W. 1986. *Euripides: Orestes*, Oxford.
- Wiseman, T.P. 1995. "The God of the Lupercal," *JRS* 85, pp. 1-22.
- Wiseman, T.P. 2004. *The Myths of Rome*, Exeter.
- Wright, J.C. 1994. "The Spatial Configuration of Belief: The Archaeology of Mycenaean Religion," in *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, eds. S.E. Alcock and R. Osborne, Oxford, pp. 37-78.
- Yalouris, N. 1989. "Ein Schlactengemälde im Palast des Nestors," *AM* 104, pp. 41-48.
- Young, B.W. and J.L. Starke. 2005. "Career-Span Analyses of Track Performance: Longitudinal Data Present a More Optimistic View of Age-Related Performance Decline," *Experimental Aging Research* 31, pp. 69-90.
- Younger, J.G. and P. Rehak. 2008. "Minoan Culture: Religion, Burial Customs, and Administration," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. C.W. Shelmerdine, Cambridge, pp. 165-185.
- Zachos, C.L. 1984. "EYKTITON AIIY," *BSA* 79, pp. 325-329.
- Ziehen, L. 1926. "Der Mystierienkult von Andania," *ArchRW* 24 1926, pp. 29-60.
- Zolotnikova, O. 2005. "The Cult of Zeus Lykaeos," in *Ancient Arcadia. Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arcadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002*, ed. E. Østby, Athens, pp. 105-119.

Zolotnikova, O. 2013. *Zeus in Early Greek Mythology and Religion* (BAR International Series 2492), Oxford.

Zunino, M.L. 1997. *Hiera Messeniak: La storia religiosa della Messenia dall'età micenea all'età ellenistica*, Udine.